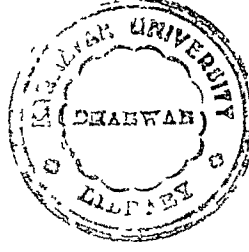


# KĒŚIRĀJA'S ŚABDAMAṆI DARPAṆA

A Linguistic Analysis



**A Thesis**

Submitted to the Karnatak University, Dharwar

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

under the guidance of

**Dr. R. C. HIREMATH**

by

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## PREFACE

After doing my M.A. Degree in Linguistics at the Annamalai University, I was keenly searching for a problem to continue my research in that field. It was my Professor Dr. R. C. Hiremath who suggested me the need for the linguistic analysis of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa - a Kannada grammar of 13th century. I readily accepted the problem. The difficulties were innumerable. A grammar which was written by a grammarian was to be studied, analyzed and readjusted from the modern point of view. The study of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa by itself, was a problem. Having studied the same with the help of a number of scholars in the department and outside, I began to ponder over as to what to do next. There was no model as such where a traditional grammar was expressed and re-adjusted in the modern pattern. I received immense help from my Professor and other linguists whom I came across from different parts of the country. I have tried to the best of my knowledge to organize the material systematically under three main heads: phonology, morphology and syntax. The sūtras pertaining to these sections were brought together for my own study, both traditional and modern interpretations were worked out; a pattern was finally chalked out: first give the concepts of Kēśirāja as he has done, and then offer new interpretations, criticism and readjustments. Śabdamaṇi

Darpana, is thus, retold, maintaining the stand of Kēsirāja.

My thanks are due to my Professor for his able guidance.  
The thesis is his in substance; mine only <sup>in</sup> letter. My thanks  
are also due to other colleagues of mine for their valuable  
help extended to me.

Institute of Kannada Studies  
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Dharwar  
July 9, 1971

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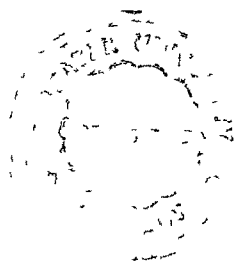
# (C O N T E N T S)

## (Preface)

1. Survey of Grammatical Literature in Kannada
2. Kesiraja's equipment and Linguistic background
3. Arrangement of Sabdamani-Darpana
4. Phonology
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CHAPTER I



THE GRAMMATICAL LITERATURE IN KANNADA: A SURVEY

idamandhantamaṁ kritanaṁ jāyēta bhuvanatrayaṁ !  
yadisabdavhayam jyotirasamsaram na dipyate !!<sup>1</sup>

'If there were no light in the form of words, all the three worlds would have been in darkness.' The importance of the words - language - in the world is very clearly brought out in the above verse. It is because of language there is activity in the world. One need not emphasise the importance of language to man. Language is the differentia that distinguishes man from the animals. It is only with the help of language that man could progress, could build great civilizations, could develop great cultures. Even living together, group consciousness - society itself - was possible only through language. Once he acquired this power of language, man went on acquiring new power and ultimately became the master of the universe. Language was helpful in the growth of society, and society, in turn, became helpful in the growth of language. Hence, the history of language and society go together.

Kannada belongs to the Dravidian family of languages. It is one of the 25 Dravidian languages traced so far. Of

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1 Kāvyaḍarsa - st. 4

the three groups in the Dravidian, viz., South, Central and North Dravidian family, Kannada belongs to the South Dravidian. It is one of the important languages of that group. There are only four literary languages in Dravidian; and all the four belong to the South Dravidian, Kannada being one of them. From the point of view of antiquity of the language, and the existence and extent of literature, it is next only to Tamil. Though once the territory of Kannada was from Kāveri to Gōdāvari rivers and extended upto Gaṅgavādi 96,000<sup>2</sup>, at present, the Kannada territory includes the present Mysore State and some districts of the neighbouring states. It is at present spoken by more than 3 crores of people. Barring inscriptions which are found from the middle of the fifth century A.D.,<sup>3</sup> the literary tradition is unbroken from the middle of the ninth century.<sup>4</sup> It is also one of the fifteen languages recognised by the Indian Constitution.

#### Antiquity of Kannada Language

The factors that will be helpful in deciding the antiquity of Kannada language are:

1) References in ancient languages,

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2 Kavirājamārgada parisarada sāhitya, p.62

3 Halmidi inscription - 450 A.D.

4 Kavirajamārga - 844 A.D.

- 2) ancient inscriptions in Karnāṭaka, particularly in Kannada language,
- 3) Kavirāja Marga, and
- 4) References in other works.

We will discuss, in brief, the antiquity of Kannada language with the help of the first available work in Kannada, viz., Kavirāja Marga, written during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nṛpatuṅga who ruled from 815-877 A.D. Hence, this work is said to belong to the middle of the 9th century. In the history of Kannada literature, Kavirāja Marga is the most reliable light house. But, Kavirāja Marga is more important than this, because it lists the prose and poetry writers that preceded it. There are some prose-writers mentioned in Kavirāja Marga. They are: Vimala, Udaya, Nāgarjuna, Jayabandhu and Durvinīta. Then there are some poets in the list of Kavirāja Marga. They are: Śrīvijaya, Kavīśvara, Paṇḍita, Candra and Lōkapāla. The import of all this is that the Kavirāja Marga written in the 9th century A.D. had a

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5 Ka.Sē.Oha. - Mugli, p.6

6 K.M. p.29

7 There is a difference of opinion about the number of poets mentioned.

8 K.M. p.32

considerable literature prior to it. A work like Kavirāja Mārga, which is a work on poetics, presupposes considerable literature and established literary traditions. In Kavirāja Mārga itself there is a mention of old Kannada which had become archaic at that time. In addition to this, as stated above, there is a clear mention of the writers in Kannada that preceded Kavirāja Mārga. This factor takes back the antiquity of Kannada literature at least by two or three centuries, if not more. This fact may be made more explicit by investigating the age of the poets mentioned in it. Here, it is not our intention to enter into the detailed discussion of the age of these poets. Moreover, there is a great deal of controversy even about the number of poets mentioned.<sup>10</sup>

Of the few prose writers mentioned, something can be said with relative definiteness only in the case of Durvīnīta. About the others, there is nothing to say. Durvīnīta is said to be the famous king of Gaṅgas. He is said to have lived in 600 A.D. His works are:

- 1) Kirātārjunīya, a Kannada commentary<sup>11</sup> of the 15th chapter of Bharavi's Kirātārjunīya,

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9 K.M. p.48.

10 'It cannot be said definitely how many names are mentioned here' Ka. Kai. p.429.

11 Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions, Rice, p.196.

- 2) Brihatkathā - which is said to be the first translation of Guṇādhya's Paśāci 'Brihatkathā', into Sanskrit, and
- 3) Śabdāvatāra - may be a grammar. Nothing is known about the language in which it was written. There is an argument<sup>12</sup> that this Śabdāvatāra was a commentary on Pāṇini's Aṣṭadhāyī.

Of the poets mentioned, the available information is next to nothing. Hence, of the names of the previous poets, not much definite light is thrown about the antiquity, except Durvinīta who belongs to 600 A.D. This attempt of ours covers the history of Kannada literature upto 600 A.D. Halmidi inscription is the first mile-stone in the history of Kannada literature, the next being Kavirājamārga itself. Though there are differences about the date of this inscription,<sup>13</sup> the fifth century is the date generally accepted by the scholars. Halmidi inscription is important not only because it is the oldest Kannada inscription available, but also because it furnishes some important features of Kannada language.

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12 Hist. of Kan. lit. - R.Narasimhachar, p.3.

13 Mūru upanyāsagaḷu, - Govinda Pai, p.138.

- 1) The relation of Kannada and Sanskrit had begun quite earlier than 450 A.D.; and here may be found the blend of Kannada and Sanskrit,
- 2) Though the use of pure Kannada words was found on colloquial level, there was predominance of Sanskrit and Prakrit words in the written language,
- 3) Kannada was a developed language, ancient Kannada forms being well-knit according to the rules of grammar,
- 4) Kannada language and literature must have existed<sup>14</sup> at least for some centuries.

There are other inscriptions said to be prior to Halimidi inscription, but there is no agreement about their date.

The inscriptions are:

- 1) Nanjangud (199) inscription of 180 A.D.<sup>15</sup>
- 2) Nanjangud (122) inscription of 266 A.D.<sup>16</sup>
- 3) Shikarapur (52) inscription of 357 A.D.<sup>17</sup>
- 4) Copper-plate inscription of Mercara of 466 A.D.<sup>18</sup>
- 5) Chitaldurga (No.43) inscription of 5th A.D.<sup>19</sup>

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14 Atyanta Prācīna Kannada Śāsana - Pra.Ka.20-3.

15 Epi. Car. Vol.III. part I. p.381.

16 Epi. Car. Vol.III. part I. p.353-354.

17 Epi. Car. Vol.VII. p.156.

18 Epi. Car. Vol.I. p.1-4.

19 Epi. Car. Vol.XI. p.20.

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of the farce viz., Malpe at present a Kannada area. What can be said at present is that there is need for a vigorous study of these passages in the light of Greek phonology.

'Silappatikāram, a Tamil work of the second century A.D., refers to Kannada. There is a mention of the 'Kannader' and their dance-song. This fact proves the existence of Kannada in the first century A.D.

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Dr.R.B.Pandey, while commenting on the scripts in vogue in ancient India, quotes 64 scripts mentioned in 'Lalitavistara' a Buddhist work. One of the 64 scripts listed in 'Lalitavistara' is the 'Kanārilipi'. This is identified with the Kannada script by Dr.Pandey. If this be correct, then the Kannada language had already a script by the beginning of the Christian era. This date is arrived at, on the basis of the translation of 'Lalitavistara' in Chinese in 308 A.D. The original work might have been written 2-3 centuries earlier.

Then there is the evidence of 'Gāthā Satta Sai' (Gāthā Sapta Sati). This is a Prakrit work containing 700 verses. This work is written by Sātavāhana king Hala. Shri Govinda  
23  
Pai has shown that it contains Kannada words. Kannada

22 Indian Paleography - Part I.

23 Kannada Sāhityada hāgu bhāṣeya haḷame - Upayana.

words found in that work are:

attā	-	'mother-in-law'
tuppa	-	'ghee'
poṭṭa	-	'belley'
tīra	-	'bank'
niḍajja - (naḍugu)	-	'to tremble'

24

Gāthā Sapta Sati is written, according to Govinda Pai, in the first century B.C. Hence, it takes the existence of Kannada language prior to Christian era.

The presence of certain Dravidian words in the Vedas and Upaniṣads is pointed out as a proof of the existence of Dravidian language/s before Aryans coming to India. According to Dr. Jacobi and Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar the word 'maṭaci' occurring in 'Chāndogya', which is one of the earliest Upaniṣads, is considered as a Sanskritized form of Kannada word 'midice'

Father Heras says that the people of the Karnataka are apparently mentioned in one of the seal-inscriptions of Mohenjo-Dāro. The word in that seal viz., 'Kaṇṇanīr' is the earlier form of Kannadiga according to him.

24 Gāthā Sapta Sati - p.

25 Kannadada Nele - S.B. Joshi.

With due respect for the labours of these scholars who take the antiquity of Kannada to a hoary past, let us, at present, be content with a slightly earlier age than the beginning of the Christian era for Kannada.

Kannada has produced grammatical literature for the last 1,500 years. It is proposed to survey this literature from the point of view of:

- 1) grammatical approach,
- 2) philological approach,
- 3) linguistic approach.

1) The grammatical approach was always confined to a particular language. Because of this, our ancients could not have any comparative view, could not think of the working of other languages.

2) The comparative study of languages was stated after the contact of western scholars with Sanskrit. Comparison is the heart of this trend. This approach having comparison as its tool is called comparative philology. Comparative philology aims at comparison of various languages, various stages of the same language, the codification of the resultant rules and so on. The aim is to know the earliest form of a language, and the earliest form of the languages. This is

a matter of emphasis in the study of language. But we must note that this approach was a development of the grammatical approach.

3) Not much different from the above, but still having sufficient grounds to be called a separate approach is the linguistic approach. In a comparative philology, the forms of two or more languages, or two or more stages of the same language were compared. But, there was no attempt to know the working of language, the basic material of language viz., sound-system and the like. All the topics connected with language are dealt with in linguistics. The previously known comparative philology forms a part of linguistics, with the title comparative linguistics and historical linguistics.

#### 1) Grammatical Approach

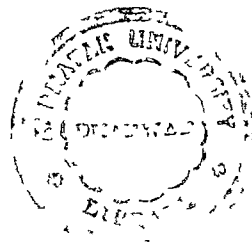
Much of our grammatical literature, including the grammars written for use in the schools, belongs to the category: grammatical approach.

#### 1) Kavirāja Mārga

Kavirāja Mārga is the first available work in the Kannada language. Hence, it occupies a unique place in the history of Kannada literature. But the importance of Kavirāja Mārga does not lie only in the fact that it is the

first work available in Kannada. This being the work on poetics, it furnishes a valuable information about the poets that preceded it, the boundaries of Karnatak, the characteristics of the Kannada people and so on.

Kavirāja Mārga, though it is a work on poetics, deals with some of the grammatical topics also. This treatment, though complementary to poetics, is very important, as the treatment of Kannada grammar is found for the first time. Now, the question arises as to why grammatical topics are dealt with in a book of poetics. The aim of the writers of poetics is to help in producing a good literary composition. This is done by explaining various ancillary subjects that are essential while writing a particular work. And grammar, which deals with the language aspect of literature, is very important among them. Hence, many grammatical topics - mainly the mistakes arising out of the faulty use of these concepts - are found in Kavirāja Mārga. Grammar which professes the correct use of language, naturally, forms the basis of literature. This is the reason why grammatical topics are dealt with in Kavirāja Mārga. The various grammatical topics of Kavirāja Mārga are discussed below, but with one limitation. That is, the treatment of the topics of grammar as found in Kavirāja Mārga alone will be given. These topics will be discussed in detail in the body of the thesis. The



grammatical topics dealt with in Kavirāja Marga are:

1) Kannada and old Kannada

The nature of a living language is to change. As the language is constantly changing, new features may be innovated. When such new features innovated become many, such a situation where we are not in a position to understand the previous forms will arise. When many such new features are found in a language, the previous features will be less and mutually intelligible. From the point of view of time, the previous stage will be an old one in relation to the present one. In this process, Kannada has four such stages.

- 1) Ancient old Kannada (Pūrvada haḷagannaḍa)
- 2) Old Kannada (Haḷagannaḍa)
- 3) Mediaeval Kannada (Nadugannaḍa)
- 4) Modern Kannada (Hosagannaḍa)

Kavirāja Marga belongs to the old Kannada stage and the old Kannada referred to in it is ancient old Kannada. The verse referring to old Kannada in Kavirāja Marga is:

Nelasida kāvyam kāvya  
kke lakṣaṇam satatamende paḷagannaḍamam  
Polegeḍisi nuḍivarāgama  
Balahinar dēsiyalladendaridirdum

26

'Believing that the established poetry sets always the standard for the forthcoming poetry, the people not conversant with tradition, spoil the old Kannada, though they fully know that it is not in vogue.'

In the next verse, he gives an illustration for his  
27 point.

Dorekoṇḍire sogayisugum  
Purāṇakāvya prayōgaḍoḷ tatkālam !  
Virasam karamavu dēṣige  
Jaradvadhūviṣaya surata rasa rasikatevō ! "

'If old Kannada is found in old poetry, it will be beautiful for that time. The use of the same in Dēṣi will be like courting the old lady.'

What is the intention of the author in these verses ? Does he refer to the old Kannada stage of the language ? By the time of Kavirāja Mārga (9th c.A.D.) the form of Kannada belonging to the previous centuries was difficult to understand. For this he gives the example of 'poḍavipati goravanene' etc., which was difficult to understand at that time.  
28 R.Narasimhachar says that paḷagannaḍa refers to the stage

27 K.M. I - 50.

28 Ka. Ka. Cha. - p.10.

of Kannada previous to Kavirāja Mārga. A.N.Narasimhayya's study<sup>29</sup> also testifies to the same fact. The word 'pala-gannada' refers to the form of old Kannada that was in vogue prior to Kavirāja Mārga. The same may be equated with the ancient-old-Kannada stage of the Kannada language.

2) Samasaṁskṛita-Kannada -

One of the important processes by which the language changes is borrowing. In addition to many processes working internally in the language, borrowing enriches the language to a great extent. Kannada language, through its contact with Sanskrit (and Prākṛita) borrowed many items from those languages. Procedures as to how to use the borrowed words from Sanskrit etc. in Kannada is dealt in Samasaṁskṛita section.

As 'Samasaṁskṛita' is a significant term in the Kannada grammatical literature, Kavirāja Mārga states that Kannada and Samasaṁskṛita may be used together in accordance with the opinion of the established writers. But the author says that it should not be. This is noticed in the following<sup>30</sup> verse.

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29 Grammar of Old Kannada Inscriptions - A.N.Narasimhayya

30 K.M. I - 51.

samasāṁskṛitaṅgaḷol sa -

ytamardire kannadaṁanaridupēḷgembudidā -

Gamakōvida nigadita mē -

Rgamidaṁ berasalkemāgadi sakkedadoḷ !!

The writers prior to Kavirāja Mārga were advocating the mixing of Sanskrita and Kannada words. But according to the author of Kavirāja Mārga, this should not be done. To illustrate this, he gives a list of Sanskrit adverbials <sup>31</sup>ahar muhuh, uccaiḥ, nīcaiḥ, itastataḥ, punaḥ punaḥ, antar, bahir. He says these adverbials can not be used in Kannada as free morphemes, nor can they be combined in compounds with Kannada morphemes. They can only be combined with 'Samasāṁskṛita'. His concept of Samasāṁskṛita can be inferred from the following examples.

bahirudyāna, sahasōdita, uccairdhvānaṁ, <sup>32</sup>aharniśaṁ. The morphemes udyāna, udita, dhvāna, niśē are Samasāṁskṛita in his opinion. The whole matter crystalizes to this:

1) Indeclinables like the adverbials viz., antar, bahir etc. can not be used in Kannada as free morphemes,

31 K.M. I - 52.

32 K.M. I - 56.

2) they can form compounds with another Sanskrit form which can be used independently as a free morpheme in Kannada, and the resultant form can be used in Kannada.

The examples he gives are: bahirudyāna, sahasōdita, etc. But there can be no question of combining one Sanskrit and another Kannada word. The examples, <sup>33</sup> arasukumāra, kelādisamēta, parigatanage, mukhadāvare, etc., are wrong, as they contain a word from both the languages. Hence, such usages have to be avoided. Instance of the correct formation would be

<sup>34</sup>  
narapatitanaya, parigatahāsyā, mukhasarasija etc.,  
where both components are from Sanskrit.

The topic closely allied with Samasāṁskṛita is that of Tatsama. Both Samasāṁskṛita and tatsamas are treated in the later grammars separately. As we are to discuss these in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa in detail, we refrain here from venturing on a thorough-going discussion of it.

3) Kannadaṅgal: As language goes on changing, it is but natural that in course of time, there will be variant forms in it. When there is a sufficient number of such changed features in every speech community, each speech community

33 K.M. I - 57.

34 K.M. I - 60.

attains the status of a dialect. Kannada which was the dialect of the Dravidian, became an independent language in course of time. In Kannada itself this process, naturally, continued, and there were many dialects. These dialect-differences were too obvious. Hence the author of Kavirāja Marga had to take note of them:

dōṣaminītendu bagedu  
dbhāṣisi tarisandu kannadaṅgaḷolendum !  
vāsugiyumariyalārde  
bēsarugum dēsi bēreṇṇappudarim !<sup>35</sup>

He alludes to many varieties in Kannada. Each dialect must have its own distinct features. The dialect differences also being many, it was impossible to know all these. This is inferred from the phrase 'dēsi bēreṇṇappudarim'. So far, the scholars used to think that the term 'kannadaṅgaḷ' meant 'many kannadas' i.e. many dialects in Kannada. But the meaning of 'Kannadaṅgaḷ' being 'kannada words', the variation in language is hinted by 'bēre dēsi', viz., regional usage. In Kavirāja Marga itself on another occasion<sup>36</sup> where the term 'Kannadaṅgaḷ' is used, it has a meaning of

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35 K.M. I - 46

36 K.M. I - 57

Kannada words which fact is agreed by the scholars. The verse No. I - 46 of Kavirāja Mārga which is quoted above, gives some hints to some other ideas also. By the time of Kavirāja Mārga there were many dialectal forms in Kannada. Hence it was difficult to understand these differences as each was having its own feature. So, each region had its characteristic features.

2) These different dialect forms were used in literature. The tendency of our traditional grammarians is obvious. They do not take cognisance of the spoken forms. If at all, such a process will be termed as mistaken. <sup>37</sup> Only in the literary compositions, the standard common language is used, where we cannot find many divergent forms. Under these circumstances, if there is a mention of different usages, it suggests that these forms were being used in literature.

3) The standard and predominant common dialect might not have been evolved by them. Naturally, each region may possess forms peculiar to its own area. In course of time, each speech-community goes on adding such features. The influential local dialect will be the medium for a literary composition. Hence, if there are, in literature, many variant forms belonging to different regions, it means that there had not

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evolved a single form of language which had assimilated the forms of different areas. The standardization, and consequently, the predominance of one standard common dialect might not have been still complete. In the area under consideration, there may be variant forms, which may be termed 'free variation'. If the particular word is peculiar to particular area only, it is a regional variation. Both these were found in Kannada that is referred to in Kavirāja Mārga.

4) Dakṣiṇōttara Mārga

This is one of the most controversial topics in Kavirāja Mārga. Since the publication of this work, there has been a heated debate on the connotation of the term 'Dakṣiṇōttara Mārga'. Some scholars<sup>38</sup> say that it refers to regional variation - South and North. Some other scholars<sup>39</sup> are also equally vocal in their view that it does not refer to any such regional variation. For this situation, the author of Kavirāja Mārga himself is responsible. Firstly, he has straight-way used the term without defining it. Secondly, he has mixed up the Sanskrit and Kannada material, which has led to confusion. Let us try to present the material in

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39 a) Kapatral Krishnarao - Sa. Pa. Pa. XXII-2b.

b) K.Raghunatharao - Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Vyākaraṇōpanyaśa Manjari.

Kavirāja Mārga and deduce the conclusions arising out of it.

Before setting out to discuss Dakṣiṇōttera Mārga, let us try to understand the term 'mārga' itself. Limbs like feet, hands, head, stomach, face etc. though found in the same place in all the people, one differs from the other.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, the compositions having ornaments of word and meaning appear to be similar, but differ owing to the use of poets.<sup>41</sup> Though the basic structure of words and meanings is the same, the compositions of different poets are different. Why is it so ? It is because every poet has his own way of using his material - his style. As there are many poets, there are many styles. Hence, the number of styles is innumerable. Because of the endless number of poets, the resultant variations in speech are so numerous that it is impossible to enumerate and explain them through words.<sup>42</sup> Upto this, the term refers to the personal variation. Because of the irregular nature of these divisions, they are beyond explanation. Among these variations, the author of Kavirāja Mārga explains the two styles - regional styles - viz., South and North.

Obviously, the term 'mārga' refers here to regional

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40 K.M. II - 47.

41 K.M. II - 48.

42 K.M. II - 49.

style in contrast to personal style. Though there are different styles of different poets, they are all influenced by the regional styles. The characteristics of South and North styles are Vakrōkti, and Svabhāvōkti, respectively. These terms Vakrōkti, Svabhāvōkti are taken from Bhamaha's Kāvya-lankāra, but applied to denote South and North styles which is the originality of the author.<sup>43</sup> Then the author translates the two verses from Dandi's Kāvya-darsa

slēśahprasādassamatā mādhyam sukumārata !  
arthavyaktirudāratvamōjāhkānti samādhaya !!  
iti vaidarbhi mārgasya prāṇa dasagunah smṛitam !  
eśam viparyayah prāyōdrisyante goudavartmani !!<sup>44</sup>

One important change that is made is: in place of Vaidarbha, the word South (Dakṣiṇa), and in place of Gauda North (Uttara) are used. The ten characteristics viz. pun etc. according to Dandi represent Vaidarbha style, and their absence Gauda style. Similarly, South style, has all these characteristics, while the North none. There is no difference of opinion among the scholars about the connotation of the term 'mārga' in Dandi. It denotes original variation.<sup>45</sup>

43 Dr.K.Krishnamurthy, Kannada Kāvya-lankāra - pīthike.

44 Kāvya-darsa - I - 41, 42.

45 Dandi himself uses the terms Dakṣiṇa and Uttara for Vaidarbha and Gauda sometimes.

When he translates Dandi, the author refers to regional styles. But, when he applies the same to Kannada, i.e. when he gives Kannada examples, he has mixed it up with another feature of regional variation viz., dialectal variation.

The Kannada examples for Dakṣiṇa mārga are:

nōlpem, pēlpem,<sup>46</sup> barisuvēn, tarisuvēn,<sup>47</sup>

Examples for Uttara mārga:

nōḍuvēn, bēḍuvēn,<sup>48</sup> baripēn, iripēn, taripēn.<sup>49</sup>

Examples of Uttarōttaramārga:

berippen, tarippen, irippen.<sup>50</sup>

The characteristics of various 'mārgas' as seen from the examples are: In 'Dakṣiṇa mārga' - isu, suffix is added to the roots, which is absent from 'Uttara mārga';<sup>in</sup> 'Uttarōttara Mārga' the -p- is doubled. Historically, barippen etc. forms are more ancient, than baripen and finally berisuvēn. This point must be further investigated in detail as it gives clue to the starting point of most of the innovations. This clue may give a definite direction for the

46 K.M. II - 102.

47 K.M. II - 104.

48 K.M. II - 102.

49 K.M. II - 105.

50 K.M. II - 106.

history of Kannada language.

Whether these Dakṣiṇa and Uttara mārgas refer to regional variations or not ? As stated earlier, there is difference of opinion. The reason why they do not refer to regional variation, according to scholars, is that we find both these forms, said to represent regional variations, in the works of Pampa, Ranna etc. If they refer to regions, the argument runs, how can they be used in one work ? Only one form representing that region must have been used. Another reason given is, in the Kavirarāja Mārga we find only future tense first person forms as examples. No other tense is given as an illustration. Hence it is faulty.

As to the first argument we may say that whatever the extent of variation, whether there are two or twenty variations in the language, when a particular work is being written, some form of that language has to be used. Of course, though a particular dialect of the language is used, still from the point of view of common understanding, usually, the forms of all dialects find place. In fact, that has to be done deliberately, because though the particular work belongs to a particular region, the author writes for the entire language. Here the process of standardization, meant for the use of all the people of that language, takes place. In such a standard form, many forms which are

peculiar to a particular dialect may be found, and the work written in such a standard language may contain forms representative of many regions. That is what has happened in the case of Kannada. The forms representative of South and North mārgas which are found in Pampa and Ranna must be looked in this background.

About the second argument viz., only future tense forms are used, it is no argument at all. For illustrating only a few forms which are representative and clear are given. So, the author has selected the future tense forms which clearly show such difference. The fact he has given future tense forms, may not mean that such a change is not found in other tenses. In the absence of any literature before Kavirāja Mārga, we need not hazard such a conclusion.

##### 5) Sandhi-Visandhi

Kavirāja Mārga has dealt with the topic of agglutination also. The author is prompted by Dandin and Bhamaha in this respect, and whatever Dandin and Bhamaha have stated for Sanskrit, he has applied it to Kannada. But he has concentrated more on the faults of sandhi than the sandhi itself, so that they are avoided in the compositions. So, in the first chapter of Kavirāja Mārga, he talks of faults of Śrutiduṣṭa, Śrutikaṣṭa and visandhi. The verse dealing

with Śrutikaṣṭha is:

niltōḷam̐ berpudu say-  
tol tūrum̐ dūramenḍe tuḍagarpūram̐ !  
kaltullindōḍuva mem̐  
baltunṇim̐ tanda kūḷanū saṅgadoḷ !!<sup>51</sup>

In the above verse, there is no such fault which comes in the way of understanding it. But, when two words are combined, the combination is not agreeable to the ears of Kannada people. Hence, it is a fault. Such combinations have to be avoided as far as possible.

paradarggā pārvarggā -  
ytrasarggā kuḍiyarappa nālvarggāgaḷ !  
sthira gōpādhyāya ksmā -  
paripālya kṣētra karṣanaṅgaḷ kriyegaḷ !!<sup>52</sup>

In this verse, there is nothing which bars us from understanding it. But the combinations of r and other harsh consonants jar on the ears. So, it is a fault.

### Visandhi

Visandhi is a flaw which arises when two words are not

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51 K.M. I - 63.

52 K.M. I - 65.

combined for fear of affecting the prosody, though it is  
53  
necessary to do so. The verse I-96 illustrates this point.  
'Janapatige osageyam' in the first half should have been  
combined as 'janapatigosageyam', but it is not done. Hence,  
it is Visandhi error. This Visandhi error arises if we do  
not combine two words when they ought to have been combined.

#### Virūpa sandhi

Sometimes, if two words are combined, we spoil the form.  
Hence, such a fault is called virūpa sandhi. The verse I-99  
which contains combinations like aramaraseṁ, aramaramane,  
aramudyāṇam etc., give the picture of the strange forms.  
Hence, it is a virūpa sandhi which should be avoided.

#### - 6) Kāraṇas

The author of Kavirāja Mārga who is closely following  
Dandi and Bhaṇḍa, now turns more to Kannada. In Kārika  
he has become more original and the treatment of Kārika is  
meant for Kannada language. For this reason of its being  
substantial, Kārika topic has become a real contribution to  
Kannada grammar.

kāraṁamāru karmakarāṇādikādiṁ prathamādi bhēdani  
rdhāraṇādinidāṁ piḍiḍu nilva vibhaktigalēṇenikhumē !  
chāruṇḍodayaṁ vachanaṁēkabahukramadinderlter -  
kkāraye pēlvenintivara jātivibhāgagūṇagaṇaṁgalāṁ !! 54

There are six kāraṁas, and seven cases, depending on them. This topic has also become controversial. The kāraṁa is the relation of noun to the verb. This relation is expressed through cases. In Sanskrit also which Kāviraṁja Mārga follows, there are six kāraṁas. According to Sanskrit grammarians, the genitive case has no kāraṁa, as it expresses the relation between two nouns. In Kāviraṁja Mārga while enumerating the six Kāraṁas, the author starts with 'Karma karaṇa' etc. and while giving the examples he cites for genitive also (e.g. 'adhīśvaraṇā daye').<sup>55</sup> At the first sight, it appears that he has omitted genitive case. How to explain this apparent inconsistency? It is obvious that by using 'idu kāraṁayukta vibhaktyanukrama',<sup>56</sup> he attributes kāraṁa relation to genitive case also. In this context, the phrase 'karma karaṇādikāṁ' is significant. While enumerating the kāraṁas in Kannada, he starts with accusative case,

54 K.M. I - 114.

55 K.M. I - 115.

56 K.M. I - 115.

which means he is not assigning kāraka relation to subjective case. According to Sanskrit grammarians also the first case<sup>57</sup> termination does not convey any kāraka. The first case termination is added purely for technical reasons, and the demarcation of kārakas as in Sanskrit can not also be applied<sup>58</sup> 'mutatis mutandis' to Kannada. That the Kavirāja Mārga has not included 'kartrā' in Kāraka is evident from the example<sup>59</sup> he gives viz., 'narapati bandam'. There is no kāraka sense<sup>60</sup> (viz., making other do) in Kartrā. Hence, this is omitted from the Kāraka relation.

Here the author of Kavirāja Mārga differs with Sanskrit grammarians. The difference is, he has not included Kartrā in Kāraka relation and, has included genitive in Kāraka which is different from Sanskrit system. Here, we are confined to the view of Kavirāja Mārga only on Kārakas and not to the system of Kārakas in Kannada grammars. (This will be dealt in detail in the body of the thesis). In this connection, the author of Kavirāja Mārga, has shown originality which is valuable for Kannada grammar.

57 K.T.Pandurangi - 'Seminar on grammatical theories in Kannada' - Annamalai and Mysore Universities - 1965.

58 Ibid.

59 K.M. I - 115.

60 Muliye says - kārāyati iti kārakah - Kavirāja Mārga vivēka.

Then he proceeds to enumerate the defects in the use of Kāraka. The faults are of various types. These faults arise owing to the faulty use of number, conjunction, emphasis, doubt etc. Here, more than the faults, the treatment of the various concepts like number, conjunction etc. is important for Kannada grammar.

Number:

The concept of number for Kannada is treated for the first time here. One important feature of this treatment is that the author's statement that Kannada has only two numbers.<sup>61</sup> We must say that the author of Kavirāja Mārga has grasped, the real nature of Kannada grammatical system. This enumeration is all the more significant in the light of the statements of other Kannada grammarians viz., Kannada<sup>62</sup> has three numbers. In this case also he has shown individuality by rejecting the dual number of Sanskrit grammar which he is following.

After this, he proceeds to explain the Kāraka fault

61 K.M. I - 114.

62 a) Kāvya.sūtra 17.

b) Kar. Bhāṣā. Bhu. sūtra. 41.

c) S.D. sūtra - 104

d) Śabdā. sūtra -



due to faulty use of number. The number of the subject and the number of the verb must agree. If the subject is the singular and the verb in the plural and vice versa, it is a fault. For example, 'banduvu pāvudaṁ' is wrong, and 'bandudu<sup>63</sup> pavudaṁ' is correct. But, this will not hold water in the case of collective singular (jētyaika vachana). Here, though<sup>64</sup> the subject is in a singular, the verb can be in the plural. If the term refers to the genus, or inclusion of many species, it is called collective singular. In such cases, though the subject is singular, it expresses plurality. For example,<sup>65</sup> 'kudure taguluvu, āne meṭṭiduvu', are instances in point. Here, the terms 'kudure, āne', though in singular, they go together with plural verb, as they indicate the species as a whole.

Then there is a numerical plural. If the word denoting 'many' is added to the singular noun which implies collecti-<sup>66</sup> vity, the noun following that numeral must be in plural. The constructions 'āne paṭṭu, nūru' etc. have a relation with the verb on the one hand, and with the noun - 'āne, kudure' on the other. Hence, if the words āne, kudure, etc.

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63 K.M. I - 118.

64 K.M. I - 119.

65 K.M. I - 120.

66 Ibid.

are not in plural, it is a mistake. But, if there is not a question of the relation between the noun and the verb, the noun may be used in singular, even though the words like nūru, pattu etc. are there e.g. pattu kudure.

Conjunction (samuccaya):

67

Conjunctions are the syntactic linkages, which connect two words. um etc. are the conjunctions mentioned in the Kavirāja Mārga. If two words are combined with the help of a conjunction, the two words though belong to different cases, have the same kārka relation. For example, 'narapatiyam nripāṅaneyarum ādi pōdar'. If this is split into two separate sentences, they will be 'narapati ādi pōdam' and 'nripāṅaneyar ādi pōdar'. These two sentences are united with the help of conjunction um. Here, the word 'narapati' is in singular, and 'nripāṅaneyar' is plural. Naturally, the phrase 'ādi pōdar' goes with 'nripāṅaneyar'. But though the number is different, they are related to the same verb because of um. Sometimes, a particular word may intervene between the adjective and their substantive. In

67 A Course in Modern Linguistics - Mackett.

68 The word 'vibhakti' here indicates number according to M.V.Seetaramayya K.M. tippaṇigalū.

69 K.M. I - 121.

70 Ibid.

the place of that substantive, a particular word viz.,  
<sup>71</sup>  
'appanāṁ' is used. But, this is not a mistake. In some  
cases, some substantives may be in singular and some in  
plural, still with the help of a conjunction, they may have  
<sup>72</sup>  
kāraṁka relation with the same verb. Though the words  
'mugilgaḷuṁ' and 'permaḷeyuṁ' etc. have different number,  
they have kāraṁka relation with the verb with the help of a  
conjunction.

While using kāraṁkas with conjunction, if, in a series,  
alternate conjunction is used, and the order in the pair of  
conjunctions is affected, another mistake arises.  
<sup>73</sup>  
For example "dēvaruṁ goravaruṁ guruvṛiddhar anāratāṁ kāvar, akke  
aresanaṁ prajeyāṁ parivāraṁ."  
<sup>74</sup>  
The mistake is corrected  
by the author himself like this 'nṛipanuṁ prajeyuṁ  
parivāraṁ goravaruṁ suraruṁ guṇavṛiddharuṁ rāgapararā-  
<sup>75</sup>  
gisuge." It is only by the corrected version, that we  
are able to describe the fault in the first. Another

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71 K.M. I - 122.

72 K.M. I - 124.

73 K.M. I - 131.

74 K.M. I - 132.

75 K.M. I - 133.

mistake is that object conjunction is not found in the same.  
Both these are supplied in the corrected version.

Emphasis (Avadhāraṇa):

When one has to emphasize a particular point, a conjunction e, ē are used in Kannada. When individual characters are to be emphasised, or pointed out, this emphasis is to be used. If the intention is to emphasise, the conjunctions e or ē should be used in all the places. If in one place, a conjunction is used, and in another place it is omitted, then it leads to a fault. To say, "Kulajānītane paṇḍitanītaṁ" is clearly a mistake. It should have been 'kulajānītane paṇḍitanītanē'.

Doubt (viśaṅkā):

Thinking this, or that, or to carry the meaning of doubt throughout from word to word, is doubt. It is indicated by the conjunction ō, for example, 'divijaṇō phaṇinēyakaṇō' etc.

76 K.M. I - 136.

77 K.M. I - 140.

78 K.M. I - 139.

79 Ibid.

80 K.M. I - 138.

In addition to the topics dealt with above, many topics related to grammar are treated in Kavirāja Mārga. We are not dealing with all those here as our intention is to conduct a survey and not to study Kavirāja Mārga in detail. The above topics dealt in detail are very important. Here we propose to mention the other topics:

- 1) Yativilāṅghana - I-75, 76
- 2) Nēyārtha dōṣa - I-101-103
- 3) Śabdānurūpya - II-4
- 4) Laghu - II-6-8
- 5) Verbal adjective - II-9-12
- 6) Fault of particle - II-13,14
- 7) Long letter in accusative and genitive - II-15-18,20-22
- 8) Length invocative - II-23-24
- 9) Reduplication - II-25-26
- 10) Multi-adjective - II-27-28
- 11) Adjective-substantive compound - II-92-96

The grammatical features so far dealt with in detail in this section are the original contribution of the author of Kavirāja Mārga. They are important as they are the earliest references found in Kannada. But, it is not having only historical importance. The treatment of the topics is exhaustive and definite. The Kavirāja Mārga, which is mainly the work of poetics, naturally devotes more pages to that

topic and less to grammar. The portion on poetics is completely indebted to the Sanskrit tradition - more so in theoretical portion and to some extent in illustrations. Hence, not much credit goes to the author as it is for the sake of the portion on poetics. The grammatical portion, on the other hand, refers to Kannada, and consequently, is independent. We may say that Kavirāja Mārga, though it is the work of poetics in form, is a work of grammar in substance.

Nāgavarma:

Nāgavarma is the first and the oldest grammarian of Kannada language, whose works are available to us. In Kavirāja Mārga, an earlier work than that of Nāgavarma, we have some grammatical topics, but they form part of a work on poetics. There is mention of another grammar viz.,  
<sup>81</sup>  
Śabdāvatāra of Durvinīta belonging to 600 A.D. or so, but it is not known whether it is Sanskrit or Kannada. Another  
<sup>82</sup>  
grammarian Nayasēna by name, is mentioned by Nāgavarma himself. But, neither any of the works available, nor anything more is heard about him. It is Nāgavarma's two works that are the earliest full-fledged Kannada grammars available.

81 Ka. Ka. Cha. p.13.

82 Kar.Bhāṣā Bhū. sūtra 73.

There was a controversy as to whether there was one or two Nāgavarmas. We are not dealing with that controversy here. Moreover, that matter has ceased to be so controversial as it was some years back. The works ascribed to <sup>83</sup> Nāgavarma are:

- 1) Kāvyaavalōkana
- 2) Chandōmbudhi
- 3) Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa
- 4) Vastukōśa
- 5) Kādambari

But this view is opposed by most of the scholars. R. Narasimhacharya, refuting the theory of Rice, that there is <sup>84</sup> only one Nāgavarma, says that there are two Nāgavarmas and not one. Nāgavarma, the author of Chandōmbudhi and Kādambari is different from Nāgavarma who is the author of Kāvyaavalōkana, Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa and Vastukōśa. Nāgavarma the author of Chandōmbudhi had lived at least 150 years earlier than the author of Kāvyaavalōkana. Earlier Nāgavarma is called Nāgavarma I. He flourished in the 10th century. Another one called Nāgavarma II flourished in the middle of the 12th century.

83 Kar.Bhāṣā Bhū. - B.L.Rice - introduction.

84 Kāvya. and Kar.Bhāṣā Bhū. (1903) introduction.

Works:

Of the three works written by Nāgavarma II, 'Vastukōśa' is a Sanskrit-Kannada dictionary, composed in various metres, giving the meaning of Sanskrit words in Kannada. It is the <sup>85</sup> earliest extant work of its kind in Kannada.

Of the other two works viz., Kāvyaavalōkana and Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhuṣaṇa, Kāvyaavalōkana is a standard work on poetics. It is the only comprehensive work in Kannada language that deals, more or less fully, with almost every subject relating <sup>86</sup> to poetical composition. The sūtras are in Kannada verse and copiously illustrated by stanzas from both earlier and contemporary poets, with some of his own.

The work has five sections:

- 1) Śabdasmṛti
- 2) Kāvya-mala-vyāvṛitti
- 3) Guṇa vivēka
- 4) Rīti-krama-rasa - nirūpaṇa
- 5) Kavi samaya

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85 Kar. Bhāṣā Bhū. - B.L.Rice introduction. p.11.

86 Kāvya. Narasimhaṇḍa - introduction. p.12.

Of these five, the relevant and important section, from our point of view, is the first one, viz., Śabdasmṛiti. It is the first extant Kannada grammar, though it forms part of a book on poetics. This section like other ones, is divided into sub-sections (prakaraṇa). The chapters in Śabdasmṛiti are:

- 1) Technical terms
- 2) Euphonic combination
- 3) Noun
- 4) Compounds
- 5) Derivatives
- 6) Inflections

The division of the chapters of Śabdasmṛiti gives an idea of the extent of grammatical topics dealt in it. Almost all the important grammatical topics of Kannada language are treated in it. In 97 sūtras, it has described the grammatical concepts of Kannada language. Nāgavarma II is definite and precise in his treatment.

The work of Nāgavarma II viz., Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa is completely devoted for Kannada grammar. It is written in Sanskrit. First, there are sūtras or aphorisms, accompanied by a vṛitti or explanatory gloss also in Sanskrit by illustrative verses. It contains 10 chapters:

- 1) Technical terms
- 2) Euphonic combination
- 3) Cases
- 4) Kāraka
- 5) Word-process
- 6) Compounds
- 7) Derivation
- 8) Inflection
- 9) Indeclinables
- 10) Articles

All these subjects are explained in 269 aphorisms. The order of the subjects dealt with is the same as that in the Śabdasmṛiti. But the present work contains more detailed information about nouns and verbs and additional chapters on indeclinables and particles.

Editions:

Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa was first published in 1880 at Mysore, edited by Pustakam Alasingacharya. It was got up in poor style. <sup>87</sup> It was again published by Mr.B.L.Rice in 1848 in Mysore Government Press. The text is both in Kannada and Roman Characters. B.L.Rice has given a scholarly

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87 Kāvya. R.N. - Introduction, p.1.

introduction and has translated the aphorisms in English.

R.Narasimhacharya edited both Kāvyaavalōkana and Karnāṭako Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa and published them together in one volume in 1903. A detailed and scholarly introduction which forms part of this edition is very valuable. In the appendix he gives the common aphorisms found in all the four grammatical works in Kannada which is very helpful in deciding the contribution of each of the grammarians in Kannada.

This edition of R.Narasimhacharya was again printed in 1939, revised and edited by H.R.Rangaswami Iyengar. Though he has consulted some more manuscripts, not much change is effected. The scholarly introduction of Narasimhachar which was in English is given in Kannada in brief and some points that have come to light since the previous edition, have also been incorporated.<sup>88</sup>

This edition was published for the third time 1967 by Mysore University. It was H.Devirappa who revised it. Two more manuscripts are used. Not many changes from the first and second editions are found.

Kāvyaavalōkana was edited by Prof.S.S.Basavanal and Kepu Shenkara Narayana and was published by Karnataka Vidya

Vardheka Sangha, Dharwar in 1939. The characteristic feature of this edition is the addition of exhaustive notes which are very helpful for the understanding of the work.

There is an edition of Śabdasmṛiti printed separately. In the book available to us nothing absolutely of the editor, publisher, year of publication is found. A speciality of this edition is that after every aphorism of Śabdasmṛiti there follows a parallel aphorism from Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa, Kārṇāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa and Śabdānusaṣaṇa exhaustively. Some chapters are packed with quotations from these works. For example, the chapter on 'liṅgaṇi' starts with Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa sūtra 8 and after it, are many sūtras from it. 'Apabrahṃsa' chapter starts with the sūtra from Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa and the whole chapter contains the material from this work alone.

#### Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa of Kēsirāja:

Unlike other grammars in Kannada, Kēsirāja's Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa is a well-known grammar. It is the principal  
89  
standard grammar of the Kannada language. It is the only full-fledged Kannada grammar in more than one sense. In Kāvīrāja Mārga stray grammatical concepts are dealt with.

89 Kar. Bhā. Bhū. R.N. (1923) Introduction, p.7

Śabdasmṛiti, which is written in Kannada, forms a section of the work on poetics. Nāgavarma's second work, Karnāṭaka Bhāṣa Bhūṣaṇa is fully devoted to Kannada grammar, but is written in Sanskrit. Śabdānusāsaṇa, is also written in Sanskrit. The only grammar fully devoted to Kannada and also written in Kannada language is Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa. Though Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa is based on Nāgavarma's works and Kavirāja Mārga, it draws fresh material from both literary and colloquial Kannada. Thus Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa occupies a unique position in the Kannada grammatical world.

Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa contains aphorisms in Kannada verses. Each aphorism is accompanied by the gloss also provided by the author. Then there are illustrative stanzas. The total number of aphorisms is 320. The work contains the following eight chapters in addition to the introductory chapter.

- 1) Euphonic combination
- 2) Nouns
- 3) Compounds
- 4) Derivatives
- 5) Verbs
- 6) Verbal-roots
- 7) Words corrupted from the Sanskrit
- 8) Indeclinables

The headings clearly show how closely did Kēsīrāja follow Nāgavarma II in the treatment of the subject. Kēsīrāja also makes use of the illustrative stanzas and aphorisms from Kāvyaavalōkana. The Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa may, in fact, be considered as an expansion of Nāgavarma II's grammati-<sup>90</sup>cal works. (As the whole thesis is devoted to the study of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa, we are not going to elaborate the points in it).

Glosses (Vṛitti) and Commentaries on Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa:

1) There is wide agreement among the scholars that Kēsīrāja himself had written a gloss on his aphorism.<sup>91</sup> Kēsīrāja himself says that rhyme, prosody etc. determine the use of some words, or order of words. Hence, to explain the sūtra, he wrote a gloss on it. One more evidence to prove the point is the remark of Liṅgaṇārādhyā<sup>92</sup> in his gloss on sūtra 69. Hence, we can say that Kēsīrāja himself wrote the first gloss on his sūtras. ~~The name of that gloss.~~

2) There seems to be a person named Kam...sappa who has  
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90 Kar. Bhā. Bhū. R.N. (1923) introduction, p.7.

91 S.D. - sūtra - 6.

92 "sūtrakāraṇāda kavi kēsavaṃ tām māḍida śabdamaṇivṛitti-  
yol sandhidōṣamakkudendutām baredam". S.D. Madras,  
edition p.45.

written a commentary (Vyākhyāna) on the sūtras of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa. This fact is gathered from Madras edition. There, Liṅgaṇārādhyā in his gloss says, "sarēphamīdirāge dōṣam endu kam...sappa tām māḍida śabdamaṇi darpaṇa vyākhyānadol baredam." <sup>93</sup> The full name of this commentator is not known as some part of it is damaged.

3) In the manuscript of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa in Osmania University, there is a different commentary. This commentator <sup>94</sup> is different from ry, according to Prof.D.K.Bhimasenrao is different from that of Kam...sappa. Hence, some body else has written it.

4) Then there is a gloss of Liṅgaṇārādhyā which is included in the Madras edition of the Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa. He is a Veerashaiva scholar who probably might have flourished in <sup>95</sup> the 16th century. The title of this gloss is 'Sūtrānvaya ratna-māle'. This gloss is important in the fact that it supplied the correct readings for some sūtras of Śabdamaṇi <sup>96</sup> Darpaṇa, which were not available so far.

5) There is a commentator named Nittūra Nanṇayya (according

93 S.D.Madras edition p.44.

94 Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa Pāthāntaragala, p.65.

95 S.D. Madras edition - preface.

96 S.D. sūtras 168 and 192, Madras edition.

to D.L.Narasimhachar) or Niṣṭūra Nanjaya (according to F. Kittel). His commentary was included for the first time in the second edition of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa by F.Kittel. It was also included in the second edition of the same by Shri D.L.Narasimhachar.

6) Lastly, there is one modern commentary by Dr.H.S. Biligiri, the title of which is Ālōka. The commentator's plan is to publish Ālōka in three parts, first part of which is printed in 1969, by Akṣara Prakāśane, Sāgar.

In this commentary, the author gives information about Sanskrit technical terms, explanation according to traditional manner and the explanation applying modern principles of linguistics. Hence, this is more useful in understanding Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa.

#### Editions:

Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa was first published in 1868 and it was edited by J.Carrett. It was printed in Mysore Government Press, Bangalore. It contains a brief two-page introduction in English which is called 'Advertisement'. The book contains ~~vi~~ 321 pages in crown size. The order of printing is aphorism, commentary, gloss, illustration and so on. There are many mistakes in every page.

According to D.L.Narasimha<sup>97</sup>char 'it deserves only an imperfect manuscript value.'

J.Garrett who was the Director of Education, ~~the~~<sup>of</sup> Madras Province, wondering as to why this standard grammar in Kannada, is not at all published for the use of all, took the initiative in printing it. Garrett writes in his introduction, "But the fact is, there is a general<sup>98</sup> unwillingness to make valuable books common." It is everybody's experience that the manuscripts are more worshipped than printed. In the light of this, the printing of such a work is still more important.

The book is completely printed in Kannada. No notes etc. are given by the editor. The scheme followed is: aphorism, commentary, gloss, in that order. In the commentary are found the illustrations to the various topics in the aphorisms. There are many mistakes - printing and otherwise - found in the book. But this fact does not reduce the merit of the book. It heralded many more editions of Śabdamañi Darpaṇa by various scholars.

Kēśirāja Kavīya Śabdamañi Darpaṇa by Rev.F.Kittel was published by the Bassel Mission Book and Tract Depository,

97 S.D.,D.L.N. introduction.

98 S.D.,J.Garrett - Advertisement.

Mangalore in 1872.

This is the second modern publication of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa. Four years after the publication of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa by J. Garrett in 1968, this edition came out. One of the important features of this edition is the valuable introduction running over 26 pages. The introduction contains a valuable information about the author, his age, the commentator - Niṣṭūra Nanjaya, his age, comparison of Kannada forms with Tulu, Badaga etc. This information is very valuable for the study of Kēsirāja and his grammar. 1868 9

This edition includes the commentary by Niṣṭūra Nanjaya, which is useful in understanding Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa. The scheme of the book is as follows:

Aphorism (sūtra), separation of the words in the aphorism (padaśchēda), arrangement of the words in their prose order as given in the tīku (anvayaṁ), commentary by Niṣṭūra Nanjaya (tīku), and then author's explanatory gloss (vṛitti) and lastly illustrations (prayōge). In this way, it is very exhaustive and nothing is left out of the work from the point of understanding the Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa. In addition to this, Kittel adds a summary note in English to every aphorism, which contains its meaning in a nutshell. Thus, it is useful for the understanding of the aphorism. In the IX chapter, he has given 'prayōgasāra' being a

commentary of uncommon words. In the appendix, he gives the variant readings found in the manuscripts.

In this way, Kittel's edition has come up nicely with its valuable introduction, exhaustive and orderly treatment of the matter, and the explanatory notes etc., which have made this edition a useful work in the study of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa.

The second edition of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa by F. Kittel was published in a revised form in 1899 from Mangalore. In this edition one more manuscript (from Mudabidare) is used. Except slight touchings in the case of Kēśirāja's quotations<sup>99</sup> from previous poets, not much is added to the first edition. Hence, according to the editor himself this edition shows some improvement on the first edition.

The third edition of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa by Kittel was brought out in 1920, revised by Panje Mangeshrao. In this edition, Nāgavarma's aphorisms which form the basis of<sup>100</sup> those of Kēśirāja are given. The illustrative verses are given numbers. Hence, this edition has made Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa more informative and useful.

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99 S.D., Kittel, 1899. preface.

100 S.D., Kittel, 1920. introduction.

The fourth edition of Kittel's book was published by M/s.S.S.Kulkarni, Dharwar in 1965. Shri Sediya Krishna Bhatta and Shri V.R.Koppal have helped in revising this edition.

Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa including the commentary by Niṣṭūra Nanjaya was published by Karnatak Sahitya Parishad, Bangalore in 1920. No name of the editor is available. Sirigennada Granthakartara Charitra Kosha <sup>101</sup> gives one Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa edited by Bellave Venkaṭanārayanaṇṇa. This is said to be the one published by the Sahitya Parishad.

Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa was published in Madras University Kannada Series in 1939. This work was edited by A.Venkata Rao and Shesh Iyengar, H.Chennakeshava Iyengar being the general editor. No gloss of Kēsirāja is found in this edition. But the commentary of Liṅgaṇārādhye is included for the first time. The characteristic features of this edition are:

First, it contains a detailed and exhaustive introduction. This introduction contains the general features of the book under consideration. Commentator Liṅgaṇārādhye,

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in his commentary 'Sūtrānvaya Ratnamāle', gives a detailed, chapter-wise discussion of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa; clear treatment of some of the important concepts in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa, such as gamaka samāsa, Śrutisahya Sandhi, Sati Saptami etc. is given.

Secondly, at the end of the text, are given nine appendices where we can find, in addition to a usual alphabetical index etc. the translation of the equivalent aphorism from 'Kātantra' grammar.

Thus, the edition of the Madras University is really commendable, and is most useful to the students of grammatical literature in Kannada in general, and of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa in particular. The usefulness of the introduction of this volume may be gauged by the statement, <sup>102</sup> of Prof.D.L. Narasimhachar, who in the 'Prastāvaṇe' of his edition says that as there was available the exhaustive introduction in the Madras edition, he did not feel the necessity of writing himself one.

The first edition of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa by Prof.D.L. Narasimhachar was published in 1959 by Sharada Mandir, Mysore. In the light of all the previous editions, he has attempted

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102 S.D. - D.L.N. prastāvaṇe, p.

to give the corrected versions of the aphorisms, commentary and illustrations. In the 'Prastāvaṇe' of his edition, he deals more with the variant readings and tries to fix the correct one as far as possible. His view point is basically that of a textual critic. He is aware of the fact that the edition of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa which is close to the original manuscript of Kēśirāja is an imperative.<sup>103</sup> In the preface of this edition, he has given a brief history of the editions of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa, the method he has used in the present edition and some of the sources of the illustrative verses etc. This edition fulfilled the long-felt need for such an edition of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa.

The second edition of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa by D.L.Narasimhachar was brought out in 1964 by the same publisher. In this edition, the commentary of Niṣṭūra Nanjaya, which was not included in the first edition is found. Certain mistakes which had remained in the first edition, are corrected. Excepting this, second edition is the same as the previous one in all respects.

An acceptance by the Kannada scholars of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa by D.L.Narasimhachar is evident from the fact that it went through the third edition within a year of the publication of its second edition. The third edition



Underwent a revision in many places which had remained in the second edition. This was done in the light of the criticism of the editions of D.L.Narasimhaachar by two scholars. As a result, this edition has become more accurate.<sup>104</sup>

Śabdānusāśane of Bhaṭṭakalanka:

This is the fourth and the last great work in the Kannada grammatical tradition. It is a monumental work on the Kannada language written in Sanskrit by Bhaṭṭakalanka.

Bhaṭṭakalanka was a disciple of Akalankeśvara. Bhaṭṭakalanka flourished during the reign of the Vijayanagar king Venkatapati Raya (1586-1615).<sup>105</sup> The ambition of this author was to produce an original treatise which should be a standard book of grammar. In his commentary on the invocatory verse, he uses the term 'Svōpajna Śabdānusāśana'.

Śabdānusāśana is divided into four sections (pādas), and it contains 592 aphorisms. The author gives the aphorism in Sanskrit, and he himself has written the gloss called 'Bhāṣā Manjari' also in Sanskrit. The author, again, has written a commentary called 'Manjarī Makaranda' on his own

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104 S.D. - D.L.N. (III ed).

105 Śabdā - B.L.Rice, introduction, p.6.

gloss. The following are the topics dealt with in various sections:

Section 1 : The alphabet, the technical terms, indeclinables, and particles.

Section 2 : Gender, words corrupted from Sanskrit, case suffixes.

Section 3 : Compounds, personal pronouns, number, numerals, derivatives.

Section 4 : Verbs and verbal affixes.

The work is copious and exhaustive. Not only it is more exhaustive and elaborate than the previous grammars, but also more methodical in the treatment of the subject. <sup>106</sup> B.L. Rice compares <sup>107</sup> 'Śabdānusāsa' to Pāṇini's 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' and his commentary 'Manjarī Makaranda' to Patañjali's 'Mahābhāṣya'.

The author's aim in writing this grammar was to bring to the notice of the learned, the claims of Kannada language, and to promote its cultivation, along with precision and <sup>108</sup> elegance in the use of it. On the whole, the work is very important for the study of Kannada language, and an enduring

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106 Śabdā. B.L.Rice, p.7.

107 Ibid.

108 Ibid. p.8.

monument to the erudition of the author. With Dr. Keilhorn we can say, 'The author was evidently a profound grammarian'.

Commentaries on 'Śabdānusāsa':

There is a commentary entitled 'Śabdānusāsa Tatvālōka' by Varadārya. <sup>109</sup> Varadārya was from Kenkanhalli. He was the son of Narasimharya, who was in medical profession.

The purpose of writing this commentary is very clearly stated. There is a great deal of contradiction between the aphorisms of Śabdānusāsa and Bhaṭṭākalanke's commentary. Varadārya specifically says that the author of the aphorisms is different, and Bhaṭṭākalanke has written a gloss and a commentary. But he has created the impression that aphorisms also are his own, 'sūtramadaṁ svakīyamaṁsal Bhaṭṭākalankebhidaṁ janakunmōhamanuṇṭu māḷpa'. To eradicate this impression (adaṁ piṅgisalke) the commentary 'Tatvālōka' is written.

Editions:

The first edition of the Karnaṭaka Śabdānusāsa was published by B.L. Rice in 1890 at Mysore. The edition contains a valuable introduction by Rice, in which he gives

the history of the grammatical literature in Kannada in detail and in Sanskrit in nutshell. The text was given in the Kannada and Roman characters. The English translation of the aphorisms is given. Short notes are added in English wherever necessary. In the introduction, Rice says, "I have now the satisfaction of leaving it as a legacy to the Kannada people, in the hope that it may prove an incentive to a more scholarly study of their pithy and expressive language." And we think it is a legacy undoubtedly.

The wish of Mr. Rice that his edition may prove an incentive to a more scholarly work<sup>s</sup>, is found in the revised edition of the same by R. Narasimhacharya, which was published by the Mysore Government Central Press in 1923. R. Narasimhacharya has made some changes in his edition. He has used the <sup>ru</sup>punction marks, sources of the aphorisms are given in the brackets, six valuable appendices are given at the end. The Roman characters used in the previous edition are left out. But the English translation of the aphorisms and the notes in English are retained. Much of the material in the introduction of Mr. Rice being out of date in the light of recent findings, has been omitted. In the six appendices added at the end, Narasimhacharya gives, apart from the aphorisms quoted from

the grammars of Pāṇini, Śakāṭāyana and others and quotations from the Amōghavritti, the Mahābhāṣya and other works are given. There is also the list of corresponding aphorisms from the Śabdamanī Darpaṇa, Kāvyaavalōkana, and Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa, and the quotations from Kannada works.

Then there is the 'Śabdānuśāsana Prakāśikā' of Kundaligiriyaacharya. Kundaligiriyaacharya had translated the aphorisms of Śabdānuśāsana and had written an exhaustive commentary on aphorisms upto sūtra No.472 when he expired. The remaining work was completed by Shri Katti Shrinivasa-murthacharya. It was published by Karnataka Vidya Vardhaka Sangha, Dharwar in 1908.

The same 'Śabdānuśāsana Prakāśikā' of Kundaligiriyaacharya was edited by Prof.S.S.Basavanal and published by the Karnataka Vidya Vardhaka Sangha itself in 1941. The portion that could not be completed by the Acharya, was got done, in this case, by Sri M.P.Pujar. The 'Prakāśikā' which is the translation of Bhattakalanka's Śabdānuśāsana, is something more than the translation. Kundaligiriyaacharya who was a deep scholar in Sanskrit as well as in Kannada, had studied grammar specially. In this work he has used all his knowledge of Sanskrit and Kannada grammatical tradition. The work is very valuable in the understanding of Śabdānuśāsana. At the same time, one must admit that it is too

technical to understand, not only by the average reader, but sometimes by the scholars also.

The edition of Śabdānusāṣana along with the commentary in Kannada entitled 'Nalnuḍigannadi' was published by Rej-kamal Prakasana, Bangalore. The editor was D. Padmanabha Sharma. The purpose of the editor was to make the Śabdānusāṣana easy even for the students. Hence, the commentary is written.

The traditional climate was a restrictive one. A particular work or class of works should be studied by a particular class of people. Knowledge was the property of the limited section of the society. Since time immemorial, this distinction was scrupulously maintained. Only a particular stratum of the society had the 'authority' to study the products of our great heritage. Consequently, major section of the society was completely in the dark about our great tradition and precious treasure of knowledge. If other people wanted to study, it was considered to be a sin on their part. This state of affairs continued unaffected. Then fell the "comet" on the horizon of the traditionalists. The comet was the advent of Christian scholars - whether missionaries or others - in our land.

Knowledge need not be the property of a sect or a section in the society. The work in the language is the

product of the culture of the entire people. The work, as it is a representative of the entire culture, so it is the property of the entire people of that culture in particular and of the whole world in general. To study it is not a sin. With this clear view and dedication for knowledge from whatever the corner of the world, the Christian scholars started the study of Indian and Kannada literature. Max Muller's effort in publishing the Vedas is too well-known. Everybody knows the significance of Max Muller's great 'sin'. There is an interesting case of printing<sup>110</sup> 'Dhavalā Jayadhavalā' - two great religious monuments of the Jainas.

The Christian scholars rendered yeoman's service to the land they had stepped in. They changed the outlook of the whole generation, opened our eyes to the glory of our tradition and made available great tradition of ours to us. As in the other fields, in the field of grammar also it was Christians who did the pioneering work. It was these scholars who printed, edited and published all our grammars, and it was these scholars who produced Kannada grammars on modern lines.

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110 The editor narrates in detail the history of printing these works, which reveals the trend of the tradition.



The second stage in the history of Kannada grammatical literature begins with the Christian scholars. The traditional era, with the sūtras, vrittis and vyākhyānas etc., ends with Bhaṭṭakalanka's Śabdānuśāsana, though a commentary in the traditional manner is found here and there. All these traditional grammars were of high standard, and could be studied only by the well-studied persons. They were not of any help for the beginners in learning Kannada language. They were advanced grammatical treatises. The layman or the beginner had no material for his help. This was really a great handicap to one who wanted to learn Kannada language systematically - whether he was a native speaker or a foreign scholar.

The writing of a grammar useful for all, was the characteristic of this stage. The simple grammars having simple rules in prose, day-to-day examples, and an explanation of the points in simple language without recourse to much technicality, were the salient features of these grammars. Hence, they paved the way of knowledge for every one who wished to learn the language.

In this stage, we can conveniently divide the grammars as:

- 1) grammars by Christians, and
- 2) the grammars by the natives.

This division spells out the respective features of the divisions also. The Christians wrote the grammars with a specific purpose. Their grammars were meant for English students learning Kannada. The native grammars were written for the native speakers who knew the language already. Hence, the difference is one of the fundamental essence.

1) In this line, the first grammar of Kannada language was produced by a Christian missionary from Serampur. The scholar was Rev. William Carey and his grammar was "The Grammar of the Kurnataka Language". It was printed at Serampur and was published in 1817. Not only was this grammar the first on modern lines, it was also the first published book in Kannada.

2) Karnataka Vyakarana by John Mckerrel was the second modern grammar of Kannada. It was published from Fort St. George College, Madras in 1820.

The purpose of writing this grammar is made clear in the preface of the book "In India, a knowledge of languages of the country is of the highest importance to public interests, for without that knowledge no public servant can discharge the duties of his office". This we can say, was the

111 Pā. vi. sã. seve. I.M.Mutthanna (1969) p.405.

purpose of almost all the grammars by Christians. This was the sole purpose with which they wrote these grammars. But indirectly, they served our cause also.

Mckerrel wrote his grammar on the basis of 'Sabdamani Darpana'. He states this in the preface. "In the course of my labours, I have derived much information from a very scarce and accurate treatise "Shabda Mani - Darpana".

3) An Elementary Grammar of the Kannada or Canarese Language - Thomas Hudson was printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore in 1859.

This book is specifically written for the use of English people to learn Kannada. In accordance with this purpose, 'every word used in the examples is translated' and 'the pronunciation is given in English characters.' This book running over 350 pages, contains the treatment of the topics, viz., alphabet, parts of speech, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, articles etc. in detail. A long list of irregular verbs in 7 pages is given in which many can be proved to be regular. There are ten appendices in which is given the formulation about grammatical terms, numbers, months, seasons, days etc. Hence the book is very informative and useful to those whom it was meant.

This book underwent a second edition in 1864, wherein 'every line of the grammar has been correctly revised, and many additions and improvements have been introduced'.<sup>112</sup>

4) A Practical Key to the Canarese Language by Rev. Zeigler is a famous grammar. It was first published in 1872.

This is a book meant for English students to learn Kannada. It deals fairly exhaustively with all the topics of Kannada grammar. The scheme of the book is: explanation in English, examples in Kannada, and their transliteration in English and the translation. Some of the interesting features of the book are: the omission of the Sanskrit letters that are not necessary for Kannada, viz., *ॠ, ॡ*. The treatment is simple, and detailed, and easy to understand.

There are three grammars by Rev. Kittel in addition to his magnum opus, the Kannada-English Dictionary. Of these three grammars two are in Kannada, and one is in English. They are: 1) Kannada Vyākaraṇa Sūtragaḷu, 2) Sonkṣēpa Vyākaraṇa Sūtragaḷu, 3) A Grammar of the Kannada Language.

5) Kannada Vyākaraṇa Sūtragaḷu written by Kittel was published by the Bassel Mission Book and Tract Depository,

Mangalore in 1889.

This book is in the line of traditional grammars, mainly, Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa, in the selection of material and the distribution of chapters. It contains the rules in simple prose, and examples from Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa. In the margin is given the explanatory note in English.

6) A Grammar of the Kannada Language by Rev. Kittel also was published by Basel Mission Mangalore in 1903.

It is a grammar written in English, based on the Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa. The book deals with Kannada grammar exhaustively. It contains 28 chapters and covers 483 pages. The scheme of the treatment of these topics is similar to that found in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa. But various topics dealt with in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa in one chapter, have been described in many chapters in this book. Kannada words are written both in Kannada and English, and the sentences are in Kannada and the transliteration is given in English. For his statements, the author adduces the sutras of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa.

The book, which is the outcome of an assiduous study of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa by Kittel is not only a important contribution to Kannada grammatical literature, but also has acquainted foreign scholars with Kannada grammar.

Dr. Hulsch comments on the book in the following manner, 'Throughout the book, we feel the masterhand of a ripe scholar, whose deep erudition and love of his subject is blended with amiable modesty'. His grammar is readable and standard reference work even today.

7) The third work by Kittel viz., 'Sankṣēpa Vyākaraṇa Sūtragaṇi' was not available to us.

8) 'Tables of Canarese Language' by B. Graeter was published by Bassel Mission, Dharwar, in 1884.

In the introduction to the book, the author writes, 'They (tables) were first intended for the use of foreigners studying Kanarese language. Afterwards, it was suggested that the tables would be useful for Kannada scholars'.

9) 'A Kanarese Grammar' by Herold Spencer was printed at the Wesleyan Press, Mysore in 1914.

This book was written with a specific purpose. The purpose was that 'it should be useful for the English students'. As the author himself says 'it was an improvement on Thomas Hudson's 'Elementary Grammar of the Kannada Language'. The only feature retained from Hudson's book is

113 I.A. 1906.

114 A Kanarese Grammar 1914. preface.

the transliteration into English of all Kanarese words in the lessons and appendices.

The book is divided into four chapters. In each chapter, there are 31 lessons. In addition, there are seven appendices. The usual grammatical topics are treated in these lessons. In the seven appendices, the lists of nouns of relationship, numerals, irregular verbs, imitative words; the calendar, grammatical terms etc. are given.

The above topics are dealt with in a very exhaustive manner. The treatment of the topics is also not involved. In each page the examples are given in Kannada, and their transliteration is given in English. Hence, it is not only useful to the English students, but of quite a help to Kannada students as well.

The second edition of this book was revised by W. Perston and published in 1950. 'When it was decided to make a revision, it was agreed to make it fairly thorough, that it might reflect, to some extent at least, the changes which have taken place in written and spoken Kanarese as a result of a notable literary renaissance of the period since this grammar was written'.<sup>115</sup>

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115 A Kanarese Grammar - ed. W. Perston - 1950, Preface.

The feature of Spencer's edition viz., graded exercises in translation is retained. A chapter on the forms of Kanarese correspondence has been added. Otherwise, not much revision is found in this book.

There are a number of grammars written by European scholars. They have been listed here:

- 1) Kannada Vyākaraṇa Sāraṁ - C.Campbell (1849)
- 2) Kannada Vyākaraṇa - T.Hudson (1855)
- 3) Kannada Śālā Vyākaraṇa - Rev.Zeigler (1866)
- 4) Sankṣēpa Vyākaraṇa Sūtragaḷu - F.Kittel (1866)
- 5) Kannada Bāla Vyākaraṇa - G.Koiz (1868)
- 6) Elements of Kanarese grammar for the Natives - Rev. Campbell (1870)
- 7) Kannada Bāla Vyākaraṇa - Rev.Zeigler (1877)
- 8) Śālā Vyākaraṇa - J.Garrett (1865)
- 9) Kannada Vyākaraṇa Saṅgraha (1841)
- 10) Kannada Bāla Vyākaraṇa (1842)
- 11) A Kannada Grammar - John Shamrao (1854)
- 12) Vyākaraṇa Sāra - Maben ( )
- 13) Kannada Language (in Russian) Andronou (1962)
- 14) Kannada - Dr.William McCormak (1967)

The last one is a cultural introduction to the Kannada. The author gives here the graded lessons for the foreign learners of Kannada.

The Christian scholars by their devotion to Kannada did a pioneering work for the language. 'These works are modelled on Western grammatical tradition and scientific approach.'<sup>116</sup> Most of the above mentioned works were school grammars designed according to the syllabus. Rev. Zeigler's 'A Practical Key to the Kannada Language' and Rev. Kittel's 'A Grammar of the Kannada Language' are the only grammars which were not written according to the syllabus. These grammars provided the methodology for most of the grammars by the natives.

The first grammar on modern lines by the natives is that of S. Krishnamacharya entitled 'Hosagannada Nudigannadi'. It was published in 1838 by Mission Book and Tract Depository, Mangalore. The second edition of the same was published in 1882.

In addition to its being the first native grammar, the book is important in the sense that it has followed completely a new path in two respects.

- 1) For the first time it is basing its treatment on non-literary forms, and
- 2) its treatment is in the dialogue form.

So far, Sanskrit and literary Kannada were the only forms respected by the grammarians. The departure is to be seen in this book in the use of the Kannada forms actually spoken<sup>117</sup> by the elders.

The conversational form of this book is an interesting feature. The book begins with:

Q: Māteṣṭu vidhavēgiruvadu ?

A: Hosagannadaventalū haḷagannadaventalū eraḍu vidhavēgiruvadu.

Q: Hosagannadavu yāvadu ?

A: Karnāṭaka dēśadalliya hiriyaru mātanēḍikolluva mātu.

Q: Haḷagannadavu yāvadu ?

A: Granthagalalli matravē prayōgisalpaduva mātu.

Q: Iveraḍaralli munde tiliyabēkāda mātu yāvadu ?

A: Dēśadalli mātanēḍuva mātige lakṣaṇa tiliyade granthada mātige lakṣaṇa tilidu prayōjanavilleḷvēddarinda naḍavadikeya mātāda hosagannadavu lakṣaṇavendu munde tiliyabēku.

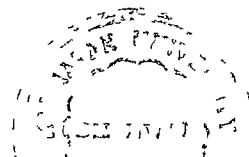
Q: Ī hosagannada vyākaraṇaveṣṭu prakaraṇavu ?

A: Hettu prakaraṇavu.

In this way, the book develops in ten chapters. This book which had treated its subject in a novel way, met with<sup>118</sup> resistance by the traditional minded scholars.

117 Hosagannada Nudigannadi - Pīṭhike. VII.

118 Karnāṭaka Bhāṣāvyaākaraṇopanyāsa Manjari - R. Raghunath Rao (1894) - introduction, p.113.



The book occupies a unique position in the grammatical literature in Kannada, as it heralded the era of grammars based on colloquial forms.

In addition to this book, S.Krishnamacharya wrote 'Halagennada Nudigannadi' also which was published in 1838.

Many books were produced during this stage. Most of the books barring a few works were specifically written for use in the schools. The main object of the authors of these books was to write a grammar according to the syllabus laid down by the Education Department. For many of these grammars, the change in the syllabus was the main reason of their production. Hence many books are different not because of the treatment of the subject, but because of the different authors. Excepting difference of authorship there is not much to differentiate many of these books. But they served the immediate purpose for which they were written.

As the books are numerous as already stated, it is not possible, and feasible also, to describe them in detail. Hence, some important books will be given individual attention and all others will be listed.

One such grammar which deserves mention is 'Nudigattu' by Dondo Narasimha, Mulabagal. This grammar was also written for the use of secondary schools and training

colleges. It was first published in 1892. The author wrote this grammar using 'Śabdānusāsaṇa' and other ancient grammars. He divided his grammar into three parts:

- i) akṣara vicāra,
- ii) śabda vicāra, and
- iii) vākya vicāra.

It is interesting to note that this division corresponds to the modern division in the description of the language, viz.,

- i) phonology,
- ii) morphology and
- iii) syntax.

Curiously enough, he has given the definition of language before starting the usual grammatical topics. Points of articulation etc. are given. So, this book may be described as a 'new wine in an old bottle'.

Kannada Kaipidi published by the Mysore University (1927) is meant to be a reference work, on Kannada language and related topics in Kannada literature. It contains five parts written by eminent scholars of that period. There was not a single book which could give information about all the branches of Kannada literature. Hence, a book which could deal with all the branches of Kannada language and literature was of immediate necessity. With this view, the

Mysore University planned one such volume. It was divided into five parts of which Part I - Grammar of old Kannada, Part IV - History of Kannada language are important from our point.

Kannada Kaipidi Part I which contains the grammar of old Kannada was assigned to Shri T. Shrinivas Raghavacharya and Shri B. Krishnappa. The aim in producing these volumes was to present the material that was available till date. Difficult and controversial topics are, generally, avoided.

The first part deals with all the topics of Kannada grammars. The treatment throughout is on the model of old Kannada grammars. In most of the places, it is the paraphrase of those grammars. This fact need not detract the merit of this book. The book has become a valuable reference work in respect of old Kannada grammar.

Part IV deals with the history of Kannada language. It was brought out in a separate volume, as the book outgrew the size originally planned. The authors of this part were Shri B.M. Shrikanthayya and Shri T.S. Venkannayya. Both were renowned scholars in both Kannada language and literature.

A detailed treatment of the grammatical topics through various stages of Kannada is given in this book. The treatment which is on modern lines, is quite clear. Hence, the

book is very useful reference work for the students of Kannada language.

Kannada Kaipidi was again reprinted in 1936. Though there are certain revisions in this edition on the whole, Part I has no changes. In 1955 the book was reprinted again.

Kannada Madhyama Vyākaraṇa by T.N.Shrikanthayya was published by the Department of Public Instructions, in 1939. This grammar meant for the Middle schools was one of the three planned by the department. The other two were: 1) Prāthamika Vyākaraṇa (Dr.A.N.Naresimhayya), 2) High School Grammar - T.S.Venkannaiah. The projected grammar by T.S. Venkannayya was never written. Some of the new features of the Madhyama Vyākaraṇa are: no statement of suffix of the first case; omission of the fifth case; separation of compound verbs etc. There are 27 chapters in the book. The treatment is on modern lines. First, the author gives examples, then he frames rules and definitions. The book is exhaustive. It is an important work because it has correctly grasped the structure of the language and it is completely on modern lines.

Some other grammars were very popular in those days. But, we are not dealing with these in detail. Here all are

included in the list. The only method followed is the chronological order of their publication.

- 1) Hosagannada Nudicandrike Vyākaraṇa - Shrinivas Kavish 1970
- 2) Śabda Bhāskara - U.Daksina Murthy Sastri 1871
- 3) Sanskrit-Kannada Śabda Utpatti - Patkar Panduranga V.C. 1880
- 4) Vyākaraṇa Sangrahaṁ - H.Honnappa 1890
- 5) Karnāṭaka Vāgvidhāyini - M.Ramaswami Shastri (7th edition) 1890
- 6) Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Viṣayavu - T.G.Krishnacharya 1891
- 7) Vācaka Bōdhini - M.B.Srinivasayyengar 1894
- 8) Nānārtha Śabdāvali mattu Sanjnārthagalu - B.Ramakrishnayya 1895
- 9) Kannada Śisubōdha Varṇamāle - H.S.Kulkarni 1896
- 10) Karnāṭaka Vyākaraṇa - Y.Ramakrishnayya 1897
- 11) Vyākaraṇa Saṅgraha - Puttaparti Sheshacharya (3rd edn.) 1897
- 12) Karnāṭaka Śabdasāraṁ - Kavyamanjari, Mysore 1897
- 13) A Modern Kanarese Grammar - A.S.Mud-Bhat 1899
- 14) Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Samīkaraṇōpanyāsa - T.G. Krishnacharya 1899
- 15) Kannada Bhāṣeya Vicāragalu - B.M.Shrikanthayya 1910
- 16) Karnāṭaka Bāla Vyākaraṇa - Pandit K.N. Narasimhayya 1915

- 17) Vyākaraṇa mādarīya Pāṭhagaḷu - V.N. Talikoti 1916
- 18) Bāla Vyākaraṇa - Govind Krishna Kaliwal 1917
- 19) Śabdasāra - B.Mallappa (6th ed. 1935) 1918
- 20) Vyākaraṇa Sāraṁ - K.R.Narasimhaiah 1918
- 21) Kannada Lēkhana Lakṣaṇa - M.S.Puttanna 1922
- 22) Kannada Vyākaraṇa - B.Ramakrishnaiah 1923
- 23) Vākyabhāga bōdhini - Parashuram Satawaji  
Suryavamsi 1923
- 24) Kannada Laghu Vyakarana - Vekata Rango Katti 1927
- 25) Kannada Nūḍigannadi mattu Chandōmanjari -  
Pandit M.P.Pujar 1928
- 26) Bālavyākaraṇa - M.S.Kesari 1929
- 27) Nūḍigannadi, Part I, II, III, IV ed. - M.P.Pujar 1932
- 28) Vākyavibhāṇane - Keshav Sharma Galgali 1933
- 29) Kannada Nūḍi emba Saṅkṣipta Vyākaraṇavu -  
K.R.Ganachar 1933
- 30) Kannada Guru Vyākaraṇa - K.R.Ganachar 1933
- 31) Kannada Laghu Vyākaraṇa - S.I.Sivaramayya 1935
- 32) Kannada Proudha Vyākaraṇa - S.I.Sivaramayya 1935
- 33) Vyākaraṇa Cintāmaṇi (in three parts) - H.  
Shesh Ayyangar 1935
- 34) Tiligannada Vyākaraṇa - R.N.Suryavamsi and  
K.Ahobal Shastri 1935
- 35) Kannada Mūla Vyākaraṇa - P.Mangeshrao (6th ed) 1936
- 36) Kannada Kannadi - T.S.Raghavacharya 1936

- 37) Kannada Vyakerana mattu Lekhana - S.V.Kamat 1936
- 38) Handbook of Tatsamas and Tadbhavas-N.V.Kulkarni 1939
- 39) Kannada Bhāṣābhyaṣa - N.O.Padaki 1939
- 40) Nuḍigaṭṭu - D.N.Mulabagal (rev.edn) 1947
- 41) Sacitra Navina Vyākaraṇa Pāṭhagaḷu - B.  
Chikkannaiah 1947
- 42) Kannada Nuḍigannaḍi - S.Hanamantappa 1947
- 43) Vyākaraṇa Sāra - Tiru Srinivasacharya 1947
- 44) Bhāṣeya Belavaṇigeyalli Kelavu Svārasyaṁvāda  
Aṁsagaḷu 1949
- 45) Kannada Cennudi - pictorial grammar (4 parts)  
S.S.Besavanal and Pandit Kavali (5th ed.1954) 1950
- 46) Kannada Vyakarana Vividha Sahitye - (3 parts)-  
Pandit Kavali 1950
- 47) Sulabha Vyākaraṇa - Remachandra Uchil and  
Guddappa Ail 1951
- 48) Mātina Munnade - M.Malkai, Dr.S.M.Munshal  
and Pandit Kavali 1951
- 49) Kannada Kaipidi - D.N.Mulbagal 1951
- 50) Proudha Sāla Vyākaraṇa mattu Chāṇḍōḷaṇikāra  
Sāra (3 parts) - Vidwan K.Kānta Rai 1954
- 51) Nūṭana Bāla Vyākaraṇa - U.Mangeshrao
- 52) Naḍugannaḍa - Menvi Narasingrao 1956
- 53) Kannada Vācana Kaumudi - M.S.Ramakrishnayya

- 54) Karnāṭaka Vyākaraṇopanyāsa Manjari -  
R.Raghunathrao 1804
- 55) Bhāṣā nidhi - ed. Sampangiram Bharati
- 56) Bhāṣā Viṣaya - G.B.Joshi.
- 57) Laghu Siddhānta Kaumudi - (Kannada exposition  
of Pāṇini) by Vidwan G.Vishnumurthy Bhat  
( ed. 1964) 1956

All the above noticed grammars deal with Kannada language directly. Moreover, they deal with only one stage of the Kannada language predominantly. These grammars can be distinguished with other grammatical works which deal with the Kannada language from comparative - historical point of view. Hence, by the very nature, they deal with the historical growth of Kannada language and the relation of Kannada with other sister languages.

When these grammars (but with slightly modern outlook here and there) were being produced on traditional lines, there was another stream, which was running almost parallel. It was the production of philological literature. Here, the comparison of Kannada with other sister languages was being carried out. It was in this stage that the most monumental work on Dravidian languages viz., Caldwell's 'Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages' was written.

One of the early works in this field by the native scholar is 'Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Vyākaraṇōpanyāsa Manjari' by R.Raghunatha Rao. This work incorporates the two lectures delivered by the author. It was published by the Gaxton Press, Bangalore in 1894.

This small book containing 118 pages is very interesting. It treats the Kannada language from the comparative and historical point of view. The topics dealt with are: Dravidian languages and Kannada; Kannada not related to Sanskrit; the stages in the Kannada language etc. In addition to treating these topics, there is a strong criticism of the scholars who hold that colloquial forms should be made use of in writing the grammars. He criticises in very strong terms the work 'Hosagannade Vyākaraṇa' by S.Krishna-<sup>119</sup> macharya.

But the most methodical and exhaustive work which though does not deal directly with Kannada language, is Rt.Rev. Caldwell's 'A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages', published in 1856.

This grammar is a monumental work and occupies an important position in the history of Dravidian studies.

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119 Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Vyākaraṇōpanyāsa Manjari - p.110.

Rev. Caldwell who was well versed in the modern theories of philology, had studied the languages of the Dravidian family- chiefly Tamil. It is called 'The Classic of Indian Philology'<sup>120</sup>. The chief object of the author throughout this work was to promote a more systematic and scientific study of the Dravidian languages by means of a careful inter comparison<sup>121</sup> of their grammar. It is the first work on Dravidian languages written in conformity with the modern principles of comparative philology. It is the first work to establish systematically the independence of Dravidian family from Sanskrit. Hence, it is rightly called as 'The Bible of Dravidian Studies'.

This monumental work which runs over 640 pages covers a wide range of topics. Use of the term Dravidian, enumeration of Dravidian languages, Dravidian languages independent of Sanskrit, affinity of Dravidian to other families, pre-Aryan civilization of Dravidian etc. After this, there is a comparative grammar section which describes the Dravidian languages on all the levels comparatively. The treatment of topics is very detailed and exhaustive. It includes every information upto his days.

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120 Preface to the third edition.

121 Preface to the second edition.

Though some of the theories etc. of Caldwell viz., affinity of the Dravidian with Scythian family etc. are not accepted by the modern scholars; and in the light of more material, some of his chapters need much modification, and though there is a great advancement of linguistics, yet the value of his great work can not be undermined. Though much work has been done, it has not been able to supercede his work. Even today, more than a century after the publication of this work, it still remains an outstanding work.

Caldwell revised his work and published the second edition in 1875. The third revised edition of Caldwell's grammar was published in 1913. It was revised by Rev.J.L. Wyatt and T.Ramakrishna Pillai. The reprint of this third edition was brought out in 1961 by Madras University.

The next important work in this period is 'The Grammatical Structure of the Dravidian Languages' by Jules Bloch.

Jules Bloch originally wrote in French the grammar viz., "Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes". It was published in 1946. This book was translated by R.G.Harshe into English and was published in 1954 from Poona.

122  
About Jules Bloch's work Prof.F.B.J.Kuiper says,

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122 F.B.J. Kuiper p.-XIX.

'All those who are interested in Dravidian Linguistics, welcome this study which summarises the conclusions of which the eminent French savant, after a life devoted to the study of Indian languages, has arrived regarding some of the fundamental problems of Dravidian'. The object of this work is to furnish... a more complete picture of the morphological facts and to give more prominence to these languages than Caldwell, who had to base his book mainly on Tamil, had been able to do.'

About the translation, we cannot say more than quoting  
123  
Dr.S.M.Katve, 'He was trained in Paris among others by Professor Bloch, and the rendering has therefore a ring of authority which has been attested by the original author himself.'

Kannada Bhāṣā Śāstra by Prof.R.Y.Dharwadkar is one more book in this field. It was first published in 1951.

This book is useful from the point of view of material it contains. Whenever he takes up certain issue for discussion, he gives in detail the views of the scholars in the field. It also contains many examples. 'Great deal of useful material is collected and presented in a systematic  
124  
manner.' Throughout the book sincerity of the author

123 S.M.Katve - Forward to 'Grammatical structure of Dravidian languages'

124 Dr.A.N.Upadhye in 'Kannada Bhāṣā Śāstra' opinions.

is evident though there is a room for difference of opinion about his views.

The book has undergone four editions, the last edition coming out in 1968.

In this philological stage, in addition to the comparative studies discussed above, there are a few historical studies which deal with the history of Kannada language.

The first introduction to comparative philology in Kannada was by Prof.R.V.Jahagirdar. He wrote a book entitled 'Shāradeya Saṁsāra' which was published by the Navajivana Granthamala, Dharwar in 1933. The general editor Shri Alur Venkatarao in his 'Foreword of this book has stated the ideals in publishing such book. The ideals are: The book must be written about a serious topic; delineation has to be scientific; and the style must be simple. All this must be achieved in the span of 100 pages. How difficult it was to achieve this goal, that too in the case of technical subjects like comparative philology? As the author himself says, it was 'Sharada's world' to laymen and science of language to scholars.' The headings of the topics are almost like those of the novel. Sharadeya Śrīṅgāra, Vivāhamahōtsava, Sharadeya Saṁsāra etc. The book, which contains 11 chapters and one appendix, deals with the nature of language, science of language, change

in language, origin of language etc. In the appendix is given the history of the study and growth of the science of language in ancient and modern times. The treatment of the subject is quite simple. Thus, it can be understood by any person. But a fact must be admitted that in course of its simplification, it has lost some features of its scientific nature.

Very next year after the publication of 'Sharadeya Samsāra', 'The History of Kannada Language' by R.Narasimhachar was published. R.Narasimhachar had delivered five lectures in the series entitled 'the readership lectures' in Mysore and Bangalore in the year 1926 and 1927. The same in English was published in the book form in 1934 at the Mysore University.

This book by R.Narasimhachar confirms his erudition which is testified by his other works 'History of Kannada Literature' and 'Kevicherite' etc. This book contains five chapters. The topics dealt with the Dravidian languages, the place of Kannada among these sister languages, structure of Kannada, Kannada grammar, borrowings, various stages in Kannada, and processes of language change.

Throughout the book, the treatment of the topics is exhaustive and scholarly. The wealth of illustrations is really amazing. It is worthy of study and useful to the

students of Kannada language.

This book was reprinted from the Mysore University in 1969.

Shri P.G.Kulkarni's 'Kannada Bhāṣeya Charitre' is another book in this direction which was published in 1967.

The author who has received the training in grammar in traditional way, has enriched it by self-study. The book is the result of his 35-40 years teaching experience and the study spread over an equal period. The result is the exhaustive treatment of the topic.

The book running over 500 pages, contains a great deal of information about Kannada grammar. The book contains 26 chapters wherein are dealt topics like existence of Kannada, Kannada and Sanskrit, stages of Kannada, alphabets, words etc. In every chapter, the treatment is exhaustive based on the principles of philology. Though the treatment appears to be traditional, one cannot miss the modern outlook and application of modern advanced knowledge of languages. In such a voluminous work, there is bound to be a room for difference of opinion about so many facts. But on the whole, we can say that the work is valuable

contribution to the knowledge of Kannada language.

A recent addition to this stock of literature is Dr. Varadraj R. Umarji's 'Kannada Language - its origin and Development'. It is published by the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar in 1969.

The book has a lofty aim to fulfil 'My attempt in this treatise forms a part and parcel of that same moment of re-orientation and Renaissance in Indian art and literature. 125 For this purpose, the author, as he says, has struck a new and original note in the field of Indian linguistic studies.

The book deals with the history of Kannada language from comparative point of view. This it treats on all levels of language. Dr. Umarji is a scholar in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Kannada. Hence, we were expecting a good work from his pen. But the book disappoints us. The reason for this is the author's biased outlook. The author, instead of describing the origin and development of Kannada, just wants to prove that it has sprouted from Sanskrit. The quotation given immediately after the title of the book viz., 'vācārambhaṇō vikārō nāmadhēyaṁ mṛitti-kēttēva satyaṁ' stands testimony for his intentions. True

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to this purpose, he has laboured to derive Kannada pronouns, numerals, body-parts etc., from Sanskrit which is nothing but fancy. In the course of his attempt to wrest Kannada language from Western scholars, he has thrown it into Sanskrit ocean. This book indicates that the era of extremist traditionalists has not yet ended.

Dr.D.N.Shankar Bhatt's 'Sankṣipta Kannada Bhāṣeya Charitre' is one more book in the field. It treats, in a short compass, the history of Kannada language completely on modern lines. This brief, work, which has trodden new grounds, is a useful book. It will be better if Dr.Bhat writes a comprehensive history of Kannada language.

In addition to the grammars and histories of language in this period, there are other works which describe various important grammatical concepts in grammars. These are important because these concepts of grammatical theory are given individual attention.

Pandit M.P.Pujar's 'Kelavu Kannada Vyākaraṇa Vicāre-galu' is one such book. It was published in 1952 by Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. The author was an erudite scholar in Kannada language and literature and was one of the brilliant products of traditional learning both in Sanskrit and Kannada.

Among the several topics dealt with in this book are: Kannada phonetics, phonology, Gamaka Samāsa, active and passive voice in Kannada etc. Pandit Pujar has given here a precise treatment of some of the sūtras of Kēsirāja with a comparative study of Śabdanusāsana of Bhaṭṭakalanka.

'Kannada Varṇagaḷu' by Shri Sediyaḷu Krishṇabhaṭṭa is a book which deals with the alphabet only. This book which was delivered in the form of lectures was published by the Kannada Research Institute Dharwar in 1955. Shri Sediyaḷu has, in his brochure, dealt with Kannada alphabets. Here is an attempt to describe the alphabets of Kannada in the background of Dravidian pronunciation. An interesting feature of this book is that it has made use of colloquial forms also in addition to literary ones. He has also used the forms in sister languages like Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Tulu etc. for comparison. Hence it is a useful work for the students of Kannada language. The topics dealt with are: vowels - where the pronunciation of 'ai', 'au' are treated; consonants where ideas on p-h and s are found. In appendix, he gives the ideas on the origin of ṛaḷa, kuḷ, ḷaḷa etc.

Now, we can consider the works applying modern linguistic methods. This approach may include comparative and historical studies, and descriptive works. There may be a

complete treatment of the language or a treatment of a particular topic of the language.

We will start, in this phase, with the works on inscriptions. The inscriptions for the linguistic study attracted the attention of the scholars very late. The notable attempts are Dr.A.N.Narasimhayya's 'A Grammar of the oldest Kanarese Inscriptions' and Dr.G.S.Gai's 'Historical Grammar of old Kannada'.

'A Grammar of oldest Kanarese Inscriptions' by Dr.A.N. Narasimhayya was published by the University of Mysore in 1941. It was a doctoral dissertation submitted to the London University, and is the first of its kind on the inscription of Kannada in the whole of Dravidian field.

This book is an attempt to present a grammar of the oldest Kannada inscriptions from the linguistic material available in the inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries. The book contains three parts: phonology, grammar (I), text of the inscriptions (II) and various appendices (III).

Part I is very valuable for the student of Kannada language. Herein is given the treatment of consonants, and grammar on the basis of the actual forms found in the inscriptions. So, for every aspect dealt with, a valuable

inscriptional evidence is furnished. The treatment is based on the scientific principles of linguistics. Hence, it is a valuable reference work for the earliest stage of the Kannada language.

Dr.G.S.Gai continued the work of inscriptional studies. He studied the inscriptions of 8th, 9th and 10th centuries, that is, the next phase of inscriptions studied by Dr.Narasimhayya. The subject is studied on two levels: 1) phonology, and 2) morphology. In the third chapter, text of the inscriptions is given. In the phonology can be found the treatment of consonants. In the morphology section, he deals with gender, number, declension, pronouns, numerals, derivative nouns, verbs etc.

In this book also the treatment is in detail. It treats the native words and loan words separately. This work in addition to that of Dr.Narasimhayya make a valuable reference work for the students of Kannada language. Dr.H.M. 126 Nayak mentions that Prof.D.Javaregowda has undertaken the study of inscriptions of further three centuries. We agree with him when he says, the publication of this study is eagerly awaited by the students of Kannada.

There is another doctoral thesis viz., 'Comparative study of Aryan and Dravidian' by Dr.R.C.Hiremath which awaits publication. This will be another valuable addition to the comparative linguistics when published.

The works that will be surveyed in the field of linguistic studies henceforth, can not be included in a particular group, as almost all of them are different in nature. Hence, we treat them individually, wherever possible, we will include them in a group according to certain principles.

'Some Problems in Kannada Linguistics' by C.R.Sankaran is an attempt to probe into the problems in Kannada language. Dr.Sankaran delivered lectures on the above topic under the auspices of Kannada Research Institute in 1941. It took 13 years to publish them (1954).

C.R.Shankaran is an authority on experimental phonetics. The subject dealt with in this book is of technical nature. But the author has handled it with a characteristic skill of a research scholar. In the first chapter, the author has discussed the problems of Kannada phonology and morphology in the light of modern advancement. In the second chapter, the topics like Kannada semantics, syntax, dēsi etc. are clearly treated. In the last chapter, he deals with the problems of ethno-psychology, dynamic philology as applied to Kannada.

A scientific approach, and a painstaking and a sincere study is evident throughout the book. The usefulness of the work lies not only in the conclusions, the author has arrived at, but in the hints he has thrown for the research workers in the field.

The controversy as to whether the colloquial forms are worth study is an age long one. Since the days of Kēsīrāje<sup>127</sup> this controversy has been expressly stated. They were not considered as grammatical forms. S.Krishnamacharya's 'Hosagannada Nudigannadi' makes use of colloquial forms. This trend of using the colloquial forms was growing, so much so that a grammar purely meant for colloquial forms only was written by Mr.William Bright. His book is 'An Outline of Colloquial Kannada' which was published by Deccan College, Poona in 1958.

This work is offered as a first approximation to a grammar of the spoken language. The colloquial forms elicited from the informants are analysed in detail on phonological, morphological, morphophonemic and syntactic levels, On a narrow canvass the book has analysed the colloquial Kannada clearly.

Another book in this field using only the spoken forms is 'The structure of Kannada' by Dr.R.C.Hiremath.

Dr.R.C.Hiremath is a renowned scholar in Kannada linguistics and literature. He is trained in Indian and Western techniques of linguistics. The work was a special problem of research by Dr.Hiremath during his stay in the University of California, Berkely. He has treated the structure of Kannada language on a descriptive level.

An interesting feature of the book is that it bases its description on colloquial forms entirely. Devoted analysis of the topics, fund of colloquial forms it collects for illustration, an attempt at building up a system out of apparent disorder of colloquial forms - are some of the salient features of this book. It is a poineering work, not only in Kannada linguistics, but even in Indian linguistics itself. As Dr.H.S.Biligiri puts it, 'The structure of Kannada is first descriptive grammar in India written by an Indian scholar'.

A doctoral thesis submitted to the Karnatak University entitled 'The Mysore and Dharwar Kannada Dialects (A Comparative Linguistic Study) by Dr.M.R.Ranganath is another

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128 H.S.Biligiri - Review of the Structure of Kannada,  
Præ. Ka.

such study which is entirely devoted to spoken forms on dialect level. The author in this thesis, describes from comparative point of view, Mysore and Dharwar dialects. He compares these two dialects on phonological, morpho-phonemic, morphological and syntactic levels.

A work which studies both literary and colloquial forms from comparative point of view is the one written by Dr.H.M.Nayak. The title of the book is 'Kannada Literary and Colloquial'. It is a Doctorate thesis submitted to the Indiana University, and is published by M/s.Kao and Raghavan in 1967.

Dr.Nayak's sensitive pen has attempted to study the two styles of 'Kannada, literary and colloquial - comparatively. In the first chapter - Introduction - he has given the evidence of the existence of diglossia in early Kannada literature. In the second chapter, he compares the two styles on phonological level; and in the third, the same is done on morphological level. He has given exhaustive rules for both the styles. In the fourth chapter there is a lexical comparison of both the styles. Hence, the work is a useful addition to the linguistic literature. Throughout the book, the author's intention for exhaustiveness, precise presentation, and dedicated treatment are evident. The book which studies the two styles scientifically, should

become the herald of similar studies in Kannada.

Vacana literature which belongs to middle-Kannada form, forms an important part of Kannada. As in other fields, the Saranas revolutionised the language which is embodied in the Vacana literature. Though there is a grammar of Middle-Kannada (Naḍugannaḍa by Manvi Narasing-rao), there was no grammar describing the Vacana literature exclusively. This lacuna is filled up by Dr.B.B. Rajpurohit's doctoral thesis entitled 'A Descriptive Grammar of Vacana Literature'.

The analysis is based on the application of modern linguistic principles. The thesis contains four chapters viz., 1) Introduction, 2) phonemics, 3) morphology and 4) Syntax. The treatment is adequate. It is an useful addition to the stock of literature on Kannada language.

Then there follows category of works which is noted for the theoretical treatments. They describe the various concepts, processes etc. obtaining in the language. This sort of literature in Kannada was of great necessity. Modern linguistics is a very advanced science today. Number of books are written in English in this field. To cope with the need of modern times, it was necessary that such books should be written in Kannada also.

The first book in this direction was 'Bhāṣā Vijnāna Mulatatvagalu' by Dr.M.Chidananda Murthy, which was published in 1965. The book contains 13 chapters. As the author himself has admitted, the emphasis is on historical linguistics. Exposition of descriptive linguistics is also found to some extent.

Dr.Chidananda Murthy's presentation of the subject - which is having sufficient technicality - is simple. The purpose of the author is, as he says, simplicity of expression, 'Because the book is written for the sake of the students who want to know about linguistics for the first time'. The treatment of the subject is clear without any ambiguity. One draw back of the book is that it has left out of its perview the treatment of the important concepts like phoneme, morpheme etc. which is a must in modern linguistic analysis.

'Dravida Bhāṣa Vijnāna' by the Hamps Nagarajayya published in 1966 is a comparative study of Dravidian languages.

The book running over 463 pages deals with Dravidian linguistics. Much work has been done in Dravidian linguistics in the course of a hundred years mostly by western scholars. If some book incorporating the results, in Kannada, it must be welcomed by the Kannada scholars. The

book which has 48 chapters and an appendix has gathered exhaustive information by way of theories, views etc. of the scholars. Much material is found about Dravidian languages. But when it comes to the analysis of the concepts and processes etc. the book does not do full justice to the subject. The analysis some times become inadequate, at times inaccurate. Sometimes statements become careless, some other times casual. This fact mars the scientific nature of the book. Though the dedication of the author is commendable, it would have been better had he been more cautious, more diligent.

'Ādhunika Bhāṣā Vijnāna' by Prof.J.S.Kulli gives in a brief compass the nature of modern linguistics. It is published by the Karnatak University in 1967. The book which contains the definition of language, ancient and modern ideas on language, phoneme, morpheme, syntax etc. in simple language is useful both for the laymen and the scholars.

'Kannada Bhāṣeya Svarūpa' by Dr.K.M.Krishnareo published in 1968, deals with the nature of Kannada language. There are ten chapters in the book which deals with language and linguistics, origin of Kannada, phonemic system of Kannada, variations in language etc.

The treatment of topics is laboured throughout. The

author wants to give as much material as possible. But in course of giving examples he falters many times. In addition to this, he gives too much of unnecessary, journalistic type of information. For this and many more reasons the book is loose and imprecise.

'Bhāṣā Vijnāna' by Hampa Nagarajayya is another book which treats with the nature of Linguistics. It was published in 1968.

The book covering 349 pages has 25 chapters and five appendices. The book contains most of the topics in linguistics both historical and descriptive. The characteristic of the book is the fund of material the author has collected. From the point of view of precision, brevity was desired. Brevity, and clarity are not found in the book. One would expect in such a voluminous book, the treatment of phonemes etc. Though there is a chapter on morpheme, heretofore, fundamental theory portion is only next to nothing.

There is a collection of popular articles on language and language learning by Dr.D.N.Shankara Bhatt entitled 'Bhāṣeya Bagege Nīvenu Balliri ? ' published in 1970. All the articles in this collection may be divided into three categories. 1) articles pertaining to the nature of language, ii) those pertaining to the defects in the procedures of

learning and teaching language, and iii) miscellaneous.

The book, though popular in nature, is useful for the scholars also.

'Varṇanātmaka Vyākaraṇa' being the special lectures delivered at Bangalore University by Dr.H.S.Biligiri in 1969, was published in 1970.

The first lecture deals with language and descriptive grammar; the second with phoneme, morpheme and word; the last with syntax. It is the experience of the scholars that grammar is very technical, more so linguistics. But, here, the whole subject is non-technical, direct and convincing. If one opens the book it reads like a long story. So simple yet, comprehensive, for all the facets of Kannada language are described from the point of view of modern linguistics.

A very recent work published in the field is 'Kannada Samāsagaḷu' by Tekkunjē Gopalakrishna Bhat, published by M/s.D.V.K.Murthy, Mysore in 1970. The book contains three chapters, 1) technical terms, 2) compounds, 3) compounding process. The subject is treated clearly.

Then there are descriptive studies of various dialects of Kannada. The study is sponsored by Deccan College Poona and published under 'Monographs on Linguistic Survey of

India Series'. Some monographs have been already published and some are under print. Hence, we will give the whole list below:

- 1) Halakki Kannada (Vakkaliga dialect)
- 2) Nanjangud Kannada
- 3) Gulbarga Kannada (Brahmin dialect)
- 4) Gulbarga Kannada (Kabbaliga dialect)
- 5) Koraga language (of South Kanara)
- 6) Bellary Kannada (Kuruba dialect)
- 7) Nanjangud Kannada (Brahmin dialect)
- 8) Tiptur Kannada (Lingayat Kannada)
- 9) Standard Kannada (written Kannada)
- 10) Havyak Kannada (South Kanara)
- 11) Kota Kannada (South Kanara)
- 12) Coorga Kannada (Jenukuruba Kannada)
- 13) Coimbatore Kannada (Palkuruba Kannada)
- 14) Bijapur Kannada
- 15) Madurai Kannada

One need not say that these monographs will be a valuable material for the description of Kannada language.

Dr.K.G.Shastri's 'A Havyak Dialect - Descriptive Analysis' is in print which is about to be completed.

Prof.J.S.Kulli's 'Varṇanātmaka Bhāṣā Vijnāna' running

over 200 pages deals with the descriptive aspect of language in a detailed manner.

There are many works under preparation which are listed below:

- 1) Dialects of Irulas, solgas, lambenis etc.
- 2) Comparative Study of Kannada Grammars.
- 3) Linguistic Analysis of a) Pampa, b) Harihara.
- 4) Kumāravṛyāsa Rāghavāṅka.
- 5) Language of Vaddārādhane etc.

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These works mentioned by Dr.H.M.Nayak in his article, are the topics for Doctorate.

The above survey of the works on and about Kannada language shows that though it is not much, it is not meagre either. In the grammatical literature from the beginning to 1950 there is not much variety. Excepting a few notable attempts, most of the works are mediocre. But in the past two decades there is an increase in the number as well as variety of subjects dealt with in the grammatical field. But in the new activities of increased production, at least some of the books are inspired by the market. The arguments for some of the books is that they

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inspire the good books to be written.

So far we have surveyed the books in the grammatical field. In addition to these there are articles on so many different topics. Some of the articles are very important because in each of them it has become possible to discuss the topic in its entirety. Hence some of the articles throw more light on the grammatical subjects. Below we intend to give the list of some of the important articles on various subjects in the field.

Prabuddha Karnāṭaka

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| 1)  | Kṣaḷa-Kuḷa niyama - N.Timmanna Bhat                       | 45-4   |
| 2)  | Paribhāṣeya Samasye - M.V.Jambunathan                     | 38-4   |
| 3)  | Bhāṣeya Puṭṭu - N.Balasubramanyam                         | 38-2   |
| 4)  | Bhāṣā Śuddhi - K.V. Raghavachar                           | 27-2   |
| 5)  | Śravanātita Śabdagaḷu - M.A.Venkatachar                   | 31-1   |
| 6)  | 'Ge' pratyaya vicāra - Venkateramacharya                  | 30-4   |
| 7)  | Saptami Vibhakti - M.M.Bhat                               | 29-1   |
| 8)  | Kannadake Tamilina eravalu mattu prabhāva -<br>L.Gundeppa | 40-4   |
| 9)  | Kṣaḷa sūtra - Mallinath Kalburgi                          | 46-4   |
| 10) | Dhvaniparivartane mattu varṇa parivartane -<br>D.W.S.Bhat | 43-4   |
| 11) | Bhāṣāviṇṇānakōśa - K.Kempegouda                           | 49-2,4 |
| 12) | Dhvanisāstrada svarūpa - B.Veerabhadrapa                  | 44-3   |



13)	Dhvani	29-1
14)	Pencami vibhakti - M.M.Bhat	26-2
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17)	Dhvani-varṇa-lipi	47-4
18)	Kannāḍadalli vartamāna kriye - K.K.Gowda	50-2
19)	Prācīna haḷagannāḍadalli liṅgavyavasthe	24-3
20)	Mahāprāṇagaḷu - M.M.Bhat	23-2
21)	Darpaṇāvalōkana - Mallinath Kalburgi	43-3
22)	Greekanāṭakadalli Kannāḍa mētu - M.Govinda Pai	9-1
23)	Greekaprahasanadalli Kannāḍa mātugaḷu	11-1
24)	Bhāṣā samasye	25

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1)	Uḷ-olagu - T.N.Srikanthayya	1859
2)	Kannāḍadalli Phārsi mātugaḷu	1946
3)	Haḷagannāḍa-Hosagannāḍa-aitihāsika vivēcane - Kepatral Krishnarao	1957
4)	Kannāḍadalli Phārsi mattu Urdu Śabdagaḷu - D.K.Bhimsenrao	1939
5)	ṛaḷa, kuḷa, kṣāḷa, vicāraṁ - S.S.Malwad	1941
6)	Pūrvada haḷagannāḍa mattu Tamiḷu	27-1
7)	Tamiḷu-Kannada sāhacaryagaḷu - P.B.Desai	27-1
8)	Karnāṭaka Śikṣā-Devudu Naresimhasastri	17-1,3
9)	Sandhikārya vicāra - R.Raghunatharao	2-1



Jaya Karnāṭaka

- 1) Draviḍarige lipiyirelillavē - Pralhad Kulkarni 3-4
- 2) Kannāḍa bhāṣeya svarūpa - P.G.Kulkarni 4-3
- 3) Kannāḍa avasthā bhēdagalu - P.G.Kulkarni 5-6
- 4) Kannāḍa bhāṣege akkaragaḷenitu ? - Kabbigarcay  
Tumkur 7-2
- 5) Kannāḍa bhāṣege akkeraṅgaḷenitu ? - Pandit  
Rangacharya 7-6
- 7) Kannāḍa akṣara saṁsakarāṇa - P.G.Kulkarni 14-5
- 8) English Śabdagaḷige Kannāḍa preti śabdagaḷu - 5

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- 1) Gamaka samāsa 28-4
- 2) Kannāḍa bindu-phoneme 31-12
- 3) Śuddhākṣaram 31-10
- 4) Kavirājamērgadalli kāraka vicāra 28-2
- 5) Gamaka samāsa 29-8
- 6) rēpha-sakata 28-10
- 7) akārānta strīliṅga nāmapadagaḷu - T.Keshava  
Bhat 28-8

Jīvana

- 1) Svatantra Bhāratadalli bhāṣāvyavasthe -  
R.S.Mugli 1949  
(August)

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| 2)  | Kannadaḁakke parabhaḁasegaḁa sambandha -<br>N.M.Kulkarni | 1942<br>(August)   |
| 3)  | ḁabdamaṇi Damaṇa - R.S.Mugali                            | 1942<br>(October)  |
| 4)  | ḁabdasodha - P.B.Desai                                   | 1942<br>(April )   |
| 5)  | ḁabda mattu arthavyakti - G.Venkatasubbayya              | 1964<br>(August)   |
| 6)  | ḁabda, artha, parivartane - B.H.Sridhar                  | 1958<br>(November) |
| 7)  | Namma nuḁi - Masti                                       | 1959<br>(April )   |
| 8)  | Kannada Āḁya vai,ākaranaḁi Nṛipatuṅga-M.P.Pujar          | 1955<br>(January)  |
| 9)  | Kannada saṁskṛti - T.N.Srikanthayya                      | 10-8               |
| 10) | Kannadaṇuḁiya paḁemaṁtu                                  | 1926<br>(August)   |
| 11) | Kannadaḁabhaḁeya vicāra - Kukke Subrayamanya<br>Sastri   | 1925<br>(October)  |

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| 1) | Kesirāja - Dr.R.C.Hiremath                   | 1962<br>(January) |
| 2) | Bhaḁe, varṇamaḁle mattu lipi - Humayun Kabir | 1960<br>(March )  |

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| 1) | The nasal phoneme in Kannada - H.S.Biligiri | Vol.16 |
| 2) | Kannada verb - H.S.Biligiri                 | Vol.2  |
| 3) | Pronouns in Vaddārādhane - G.S.Gai          | Vol.16 |
| 4) | Affricates in Kannada - T.N.Srikanthayya    | Vol.14 |

Commemoration Volumes

- 1) Nudināṇṭu - K.V.Raghavachar (Abhinandana)
- 2) Kannada nuḍiya alivu - ulivu - M.V.Sitaramayya  
(Abhinandana)
- 3) Vaiyākaraṇa Bhīma or Bhīmasēna (Kundana)
- 4) Darpaṇada Kelavu Saṁasyegaḷu - Somayaji (Śraddhāṇjali)
- 5) Hosagannada Gadyabhāṣe - Sediyaṇu (Śraddhāṇjali)
- 6) Śabdasaṁpatti - M.P.Pujar (Śraddhāṇjali)
- 7) Kannada Vaiyākaraṇaru - Kollurayya (Bāgīna)
- 8) Vaddārādhaneya dēsi - T.V.Venkatechale Śāstri  
(Jnānōpāsaka )
- 9) Kannada sēhitya hāgū bhāṣeya belavaṇige - M.  
Govinda Pai (Upāyana)
- 10) Kannadaḍalli varṇapallatāda kelavaṁsaḡaḷu - T.V.  
Venketachala Sastri (Upāyana)
- 11) Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇada vaisiṣṭhya - S.S.Byatnal (Āratī)
- 12) 'A' da vicāra - Shri Sivacharya Swamigaḷu (Āratī)

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| 1) | Bahulaṅgrahana - Dr.H.S.Biligiri                        | 1968<br>(January) |
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| 3) | Guru-laghu-akṣara - Dr.H.S.Biligiri                     | 1958<br>(July)    |

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| 1) | Darpaṇāvalōkane - M.M.Kalburgi              | 1965 |
| 2) | -do- -do-                                   | 1966 |
| 3) | Vowel phonemes in Gouda Kannada - K.K.Gouda | 1967 |

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| 1) | Kannadadalli Yōgavāhagaḷu - M.S.Sunkapur                         | I-1. |
| 2) | Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa Arthavrittī mattu Anvayavrittī-<br>M.M.Kalburgi | I-1  |
| 3) | Kannada akṣarapaddhatiya mēle Saṁskṛtade<br>Prabhāva - J.S.Kulli | I-1  |
| 4) | Kannada Bhāṣeyalli Bindu - J.S.Kulli                             | II-1 |

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| 1) | A brief Survey of the recent grammatical<br>literature in Kannada - H.M.Nayak | Vol.II |
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- 2) Contribution of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa towards  
an understanding of the history of Kannaḍa  
language - D.Javaregowda Vol.II
- 3) The Case System of Kannaḍa - M.V.Seetaramayya Vol.IV
- 4) Co-existence of Phonemic Systems and old  
Kannaḍa Grammar - Dr.Manappa Nayak Vol.I
- 5) The Conjugational System of Kannaḍa - Dr.H.S.  
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- 6) Some early evidence of 'Diglossia' in  
Kannaḍa - H.M.Nayak Vol.III
- 7) The Problem of Loan-words in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa-  
M.Chidananda Murthy Vol.V
- 8) The Phoneme ! - K.K.Gowda Vol.V

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- 1) The mutation I,E,U,O. in Kannaḍa - T.N.  
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- 2) Some obsolete words in Kannaḍa Vol.XIII

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- 1) The inclusive and exclusive first person in  
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- 2) Middle Demonstration u in old Kannaḍa -  
Deccan College Bulletin 10
- 3) History of P in Kanarese - BSO (AJS) 8-2-5

4) Kannada Language through the ages -

Karnāṭaka Darshana

1955

5) English as Kannadigas speak it. MUBOPS

1940

## CHAPTER II

KĒSIRĀJA: HIS EQUIPMENT AND LINGUIST BACKGROUND

A) General Sanskrit Grammatical Climate:

Any body without the fear of contradiction can say that in no other country the grammar was studied and perfected with so much devotion and zeal as in India. A glance at the names of the grammarians and the works on grammar bears testimony to this fact. 'On the lowest calculation there are yet current in various parts of India, nearly a dozen schools of Sanskrit grammar, at least three hundred writers in the field including those that are known to us only from quotations, and more than a thousand separate<sup>1</sup> treatises original as well as explanatory'. The greatness of Sanskrit grammar is not only in its quantity. The quality of the Sanskrit grammar is also praised the world over.

The earliest speculations of grammatical nature, according to some scholars, are to be found in the R̥gveda itself. But there is a difference of opinion about it. Patanjali explains the R̥gveda passage 'catvāri śrīṅgaḥ' as<sup>2</sup> 'nāmākhyātōpasarganipātāḥ' and 'septasindhavaḥ' as 'septa

1 Systems of Sanskrit Grammar - S.K.Belvalkar, p.1.

2 Mahābhāṣya - Ed. Keilhorn, p.3.

vibhaktayah'<sup>3</sup>. But, this interpretation is not accepted by all.

By the time of 'Brāhmaṇas', the passages in the Vedas had already been difficult to understand. The forms had become obsolete and the new forms had entered. But, the Vedas were having venerable position; hence they had to be preserved in tact. For this reason the nature of the language of the Vedas was to be studied. This was the beginning of grammatical studies in India. But this sort of study in the Brāhmaṇas was of secondary importance, the first place being occupied by sacerdotal studies.

It was only after the Brāhmanic stage that grammatical study began to grow. In the period when all the Vedic hymns were to be codified in the 'family' books, the manuals of phonetics also came into existence. The manuals were dealing with phonological aspects including accents, quantity, pronunciation and euphonic combination. The manuals grew into great literature with precision and perfection. This was the branch known as Śikṣās. After this, one can notice a definite advance of grammatical notion in the Padapāṭhas, ascribed to Śākalya, in which are given the rules of

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3     Mchābhāṣya - Ed. Keilhorn, p.4.

euphonic combination, each word and each member of the compound separately, prefixes of the verb, and suffixes of the noun.

Then there are Prātisākhya. The contents of these Prātisākhya are:

- 1) the classification of the Vedic texts,
- 2) definition of the technical terms, and
- 3) attempt to reduce the words to their elements  
and explain the mode of their grammatical formation.

After the Prātisākhya comes Yaska, the great writer of Nirukta. He is concerned with the etymology of the Vedic terms. He is not, strictly speaking, a grammarian, but a philologist. But the study of etymology is allied to that of grammar. Yaska who might have flourished during 800-700 years B.C. was responsible for great advance in the grammatical study. There were many works of etymological and grammatical nature prior to Yaska. He mentions a few of them, which are a mere names to us.

The study of Sanskrit grammar in this way continued unbroken by Kātyāyana, Pāṇini, Patanjali, Bhartrhari and scores of others. It was Pāṇini who raised the status of the science of grammar to Smṛti level. Pāṇini himself was venerated as Ṛṣi. He built a science of grammatical

studies, and produced Aṣṭādhyāyī, which is considered as  
'the greatest monument of human intellect'<sup>4</sup>.

The study of Sanskrit grammar so vast in terms of quality and quantity, was, naturally, having many schools in it. Each school, in turn, had many treatises. In our study, here, we deal with it on two levels, viz., 1) pre-Pāṇiniyan grammarians and 2) Pāṇiniyan and Post-Pāṇiniyan schools of grammar. As already indicated in the beginning, there are more than three hundred writers and more than thousand treatises. We propose to deal with the important ones, and among the rest we will mention a few.

1) Pre-Pāṇiniyan Schools:

In the Sanskrit grammatical world, Pāṇini is the sure milestone. But he was not the first grammarians. There are many grammarians and schools of grammar prior to Pāṇini. Of course, there are the 'Brāhmaṇas' to begin with, which contain a great number of grammatical speculations.

Bhōpadeva, a grammarian who flourished about the middle of 13th century and wrote the 'Mugdhabōdha', enumerates in the following verse eight original authorities on Sanskrit grammar.

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4 Bloomfield - Language - p.

Indras' candraḥ kāsakṛtsn-Āpisali śakatāyanah !  
Pāṇiny-Amara-Jainendra-jayetyaṣṭādi śābdakāḥ !<sup>5</sup>

The eight grammarians mentioned in this sūtra are:  
Indra, Candra, Kāsakṛtsna, Āpisali, Śakatāyana, Pāṇini, Amara  
and Jainendra. Of these eight, at least a few are prior to  
Pāṇini. The chief founders of grammatical schools prior to  
Pāṇini are Āpisali and Kāsakṛtsna. Pāṇini himself mentions  
the names of the grammarians that preceded him. They are:  
Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Cakrevarmaṇa, Bhāradhvāja, Śakatā-  
yana, Śākalya, Sēnaka and Sphōṭāyana.<sup>6</sup> There are two Śakatā-  
yanas who flourished during different periods. The earlier  
one is quoted by Yāska in his Nirukta and Pāṇini in his  
Aṣṭādhyāyī. It is the later Śakatāyana that has used the  
Jainendra grammar and the 'Kāśikā' and is known as Abhinava  
Śakatāyana and is quoted by Bhōpadēva in his 'Mugdhabōdha'.  
This Śakatāyana was a Jaina and his grammar is 'Śabdēnusā-  
sana'. Yāska who is prior to Pāṇini also mentions Gārgya  
and Śakatāyana. Except this information about the pre-Pāṇi-  
niyan grammarians, nothing is known to us.

#### The School of Pāṇini:

The work which brought into focus the tentative efforts

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5 Dhātupāṭha - introductory verse No.2.

6 Pāṇini - Aṣṭādhyāyī.

of the early grammarians, and by its accuracy and thoroughness eclipsed all its predecessors, dominating the thoughts of the generations of thinkers even to present times, is the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. It is a rare example of technical perfection. Aṣṭādhyāyī composed during the period of 700-600 B.C. approximately, assimilated in it all the grammatical current upto its time, and became a great monument of grammatical science. Before the perfection and greatness of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, all the previous authors on grammar faded into oblivion. Hence the posterity received nothing but their names which it remembered with little reverence.

Pāṇini's work contains nearly four thousand sūtras divided into eight adhyāyas of four pādas each; hence it is called Aṣṭādhyāyī. The text of the sūtrās handed down to us is almost intact. Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini said to have been based on Māhēśvara sūtras, is very exhaustive and precise work on Sanskrit language.

In addition to Aṣṭādhyāyī, Pāṇini also composed a Paḍapāṭha - a list of roots, a Gaṇapāṭha - list of words which behave alike grammatically, and Unādi sūtras in some form or the other.

Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini was an epoch-making work in the grammatical world. It was venerated by every one, and everywhere. To add to this, Pāṇini was fortunate enough to have a commentator like Patanjali who could dispel any doubts that were raised against Pāṇini.

There are equally brilliant adherents of this school viz., Kātyāyana, Patanjali, Bhartṛhari etc., who are also held in high esteem. Kātyāyana is the earliest great name in this tradition.

Kātyāyana:

The Kathāsaritsāgara makes Kātyāyana the contemporary<sup>8</sup> of Pāṇini or even senior one. But there is no unanimity about this. Others think that the date of Kātyāyana may be approximately 500-350 B.C.

Kātyāyana's work - the Vārtikas - is written specially to correct, modify or supplement the rules of Pāṇini wherever required. There are two works written by Kātyāyana viz.,

- 1) Vājasenēyi Prātiśākhya - a work dealing with the grammar and the orthography of the Vājasenēyi Saṁhitā.

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2) His second work is Vārtikas. Here, his aim is to explain the Pāṇini's sūtras which, he thinks, deserve attention.

So, he has bypassed the correct sūtras. He has subjected Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī to a searching criticism. Of the nearly 4000 sūtras, Kātyāyana noticed over 1500 in about 4000 of his Vārtikas. In addition to raising doubts or objections in regard to Pāṇini's sūtras, he has solved or removed doubts. Some of the Vārtikas are in prose, while others are composed in metrical form. He clearly mentions the sūtras to which his Vārtika refers.

Patanjali:

The chief and most authoritative commentary on Pāṇini's work is that called Mahābhāṣya by Patanjali. It occupies a unique place in the grammatical literature of the world. The Mahābhāṣya is great in everything - great in bulk, great in intellect. It is the final court of appeal on all matters grammatical. Patanjali flourished during the period of 150 B.C.

Patanjali's chief mission was to vindicate Pāṇini, against the unmerited attacks of Kātyāyana. In this, he

achieved a remarkable success. The style of his work is unparalleled in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. Mahābhāṣya also like Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, is divided into eight adhyāyas of four pādas each, each pāda being further sub-divided into nine 'āhnikas'. Mahābhāṣya does not cover all the sūtras of Pāṇini. Only those which were considered by Kātyāyana and those which were felt by him to be incomplete and capable of improvement were considered.

Patanjali mentions two early grammarians viz., Vyādi, and Vāṇapāyana. Vyādi, famous grammarian, wrote 'Sangraha'. About Vāṇapāyana's work, nothing is known.

Bhartrhari is one more celebrity in the field of Sanskrit grammar. He is the author of Vākyapadīya; and the commentary on the Mahābhāṣya. Bhartrhari flourished in 7th century A.D. The Vākyapadīya is a metrical composition discussing the philosophy of grammar. It has three chapters, 1) the Brāhma or Āgama Kāṇḍa, 2) the Vākya Kāṇḍa, and 3) the pāda or Prakaraṇa Kāṇḍa. This work of Bhartrhari is also held in high esteem.

In addition to these celebrities mentioned above, there are many other scholars some of which are very popular. To mention a few of them.

- 1) Kāśika of Jayāditya and Vāmana:

Kāśikā is a commentary on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, giving numerous examples for each rule. The first five chapters were written by Jayāditya (660 A.D.) and the remaining three chapters by Vāmana.

2) Jinēndrabuddhi's 'Nyāsa' on the Kāśikā:

This is a commentary on Kāśika entitled 'Kāśika-vivarāṇa-panjikā' or 'Kāśika-nyāsa'. The author lived in about 750 A.D.

3) Kaiyyata's Pradīpa:

Pradīpa being the commentary on Mahābhāṣya, it was written by Kaiyyata belonging to the eleventh century. He has followed the lines of Bhartṛhari in his work.

Then there is a Rūpamālā which is the recast of Aṣṭādhyāyī written by Vimala Saraswati of 14th century. After this, there are various Kaumudis. Such a writer of Kaumudi is Rāmacandra (first half of fifteenth century) and his work is 'Prakriyā Kaumudi'. The important one among the Kaumudi works is the 'Siddhāntakaumudi' of Bhaṭṭōji Dixit. At present it is the only popular introduction to Pāṇini's grammar. The age of Bhaṭṭōji Dixit is 1630 A.D.

Still there are a hosts of commentaries on each of

the authors mentioned. In addition, there are abridgements, manuals, Dhātupāṭhas, Gaṇapāṭhas, and many others. It is not necessary for us to give these details. On fact is, however, very clear that the following of the school of Pāṇini is unparalleled in any field of study, any where in the world.

There are, of course, many other schools besides that of Pāṇini. But no other school could attain the popularity as was possible in the case of Pāṇini. We will mention the various schools below:

1) The Cāndra School:

Candragōmin was the founder of this school. His work is Cāndra Vyākaraṇa. This work is written in about 470 A.D. Candragōmin's work was meant to be an improvement on that of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patanjali, mainly by way of greater brevity and precision. In many cases, the rules of Pāṇini are recast for the sake of securing facility of pronunciation. There are 35 sūtras which are incorporated in the Kāśika that are the contributions of Candragōmin. The total number of the Cāndra sūtras is about 3100. The object of Candragōmin was to 'rearrange the grammatical material with the object of bringing together all the rules that deal with

the same phonetic or grammatical operations.<sup>10</sup> In addition to this work, Candragomin has also written many works viz., Unādi list, Liṅgānusāsana, Gaṇapāṭha, Upasarga vṛtti, and Varṇa sūtra.

As usual, there are various commentaries etc. in this school.

2) The Jainendra School:

The traditional author of the aphorisms of this is Jina or Mahāvira. But Dēvaṇandi is the author of these sūtras. Another name for this Dēvaṇandi is Pūjyapēda. The latter part of the fifth century is considered to be the date of this school.

There are two versions in which Jainendra Vyākaraṇa has come down to us. The shorter one contains about 5000 sūtras, while the longer one gives more than 700 sūtras not found in the shorter version. The Jainendra grammar is just Pāṇini and the Vārtikas condensed as much as possible. Economy is the main merit of this work.

3) The Śakatāyana School:

Śakatāyana's work is Śabdānusāsana. It is appealing to

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a limited section. This Śakāṭāyana is the later one of the two Śakāṭāyanas. In addition to using Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patanjali, Śakāṭāyana has also used Jainendra Vyākaraṇa. He is giving the sūtras of Pāṇini in toto except when he wants to modify.

Śakāṭāyana's Śabdānuśāsana has four adhyāyās of four pādas each, the total number of sūtras being about 3200. He does not treat the Vēdic grammar.

4) The Hēmacandra School:

This is one of the important sectarian schools of Grammar. It was found by Hemacandra - a Jaina monk. He flourished towards the end of the 11th century and in the beginning of the 12th century.

Hēmacandra wrote a grammar entitled Śabdānuśāsana. It also consists of eight adhyāyās of four pādas each, and the total number of sūtras is 4550. The last chapter exclusively deals with Prakrit languages. His aim in writing the grammar is to present in the shortest manner possible all that is said by his predecessors and all that can be said. He has drawn upon all the previous works without hesitation. He also has written a commentary on his grammar named Śabdānuśāsana Brhadvṛtti. This commentary is very exhaustive and

quotes the previous view in detail.

5) Kātantra School:

The name of Kātantra, according to the commentators, means a short treatise, a handbook, wherein the subtleties of Pāṇini's grammar have been avoided. These were written to satisfy the popular need.

Kātantra school is also known as Kaumāra or Kālāpa school. This Kātantra grammar might have been written in the first century A.D. The name of the work is 'Kātantra sūtrapāṭha' and that of the founder is Śarvavarman. The topics dealt in it are divided into four parts.

- 1) Sandhi,
- 2) Noun,
- 3) Inflections, and
- 4) Krits.

The merit of the work lies chiefly in its brevity. Whereas Pāṇini has taken 4000 sūtras, Śarvavarman has described all that material in 855 sūtras only. According to Dr. Burnell<sup>11</sup> 'the Tamil grammar Tolakāppiyam, Kannada grammar Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa are related to the Kātantra grammar, which belongs to the Aindra School.

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11 Systems of Sanskrit Grammar - p.81.

Durgasiṃha wrote a commentary on the Kātantra grammar. Durgasiṃha belonged to the eighth century. His aim was to explain the Kātantra grammar in easy manner.

6) The Sārasvata School:

The Sārasvata School flourished in North India being encouraged by the Mohammadan rulers. It belonged to the fourteenth century. The Sārasvata school treats the subject with great brevity and simplicity. It has used only 700 sūtras, for its subject. When Kātantra School was popular because of its brevity (about 1400 sūtras in all), the presentation of the subject in only 700 sūtras in Sārasvata grammar is really an achievement.

The author of the Vārtikas to the Sārasvata is considered to be Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya. But he was only a commentator. His work being 'Sārasvata Prakriyā'. The author of the Sārasvata sūtras is one Narēndrācārya. There are great many commentators for this school. Amṛtabhārati, Kṣēmaendra, Mādheva etc. to cite only a few.

7) The School of Bōpadēva:

The founder of this school is Bōpadēva and his work is 'Mugdhabōdha'. Middle of the thirteenth century is considered to be his date.

The various treatises were there to improve upon Pāṇini's sūtras or make them more accurate. The Vārtikas etc. which set out for this task, were more difficult to the students. Other independent schools were mostly sectarian. Bōpadēva's aim was simplicity and brevity without any sectarian touch. His mode of treatment is like that of Kātantra grammar. He differs from Pāṇini even in the use of technical terms. This divergence was not acceptable universally as they were accustomed to Pāṇini's use of terminology.

8) The Jaumara School:

This school is strangely enough, has become popular not on the name of its founder, but the commentator. The founder of this school is Kramadīśvara, and his work is 'Sankṣipta sāra'. This is an abridgement, perhaps, of Pāṇini. This was the first such abridgement which was the forerunner of the later Kaumudis. This 'Sankṣipta sāra' has undergone a thorough revision by Jaumaranandi. The name of his vṛtti is called 'Rasavati' and consequently the school is known also by the name 'Rasavata school'.

9) The Saupadma School:

The founder of this school is Padmanābhadeva. He may be placed in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

Padmanābhadatta's work is based on Panini. He has remodelled the sūtras of Pāṇini, arranged them in a more methodical manner and has added short explanation, after each sūtra. His grammar is known as 'Saupadma grammar'.

The resume given above, on the grammatical works in Sanskrit reveals that mostly concluding works in the development of grammatical science have been preserved to us. Many works whether important or not, which could reconstruct the history of a particular school, are completely lost to us. Hence, we are in the dark as to the growth of each school. But, we have to thank ourselves for the fact that at least concluding works are available. The grammatical sense of the ancient Indians was awakened by their study of the traditional sacred texts, and by their comparison of its difference in language with that of contemporary use. Dr. Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti in his book 'The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar'<sup>12</sup> gives three reasons as to why grammatical activities in ancient India were possible.

1) Some features of spontaneous growth, followed consciously or unconsciously in the utterance of a significant sentence, marked the basis of grammatical generalisation.

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12 The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar - P.C.Chakravarti, p. 5.

While combining two words together in their speech, they followed, instinctively certain rules.

2) The second reason in the evolution of grammar as a scientific branch of knowledge was necessity. This urgent necessity was more religious than academic. It was to devise some practical way of ensuring a successful study of the Vēdas. The result was the evolution of grammatical science.

3) Side by side with Sanskrit, there were growing different forms of Prākṛit language. In course of time, they became very popular. This gave an impetus to the rise of so many schools in Sanskrit grammar. So far, only that Sanskrit which was the language of the cultured community mostly, was studied. But when Prākṛit languages began to gain ground they forced entrance into the study of languages.

In this background, the Sanskrit grammatical science grew into a huge system. After the Vedas, it was grammatical science that deserved the prominent place in the studies of the ancient Hindus. The grammar is called the 'mouth of the Vedas' (Vyākaranam mukham smṛtam) and it is also called 'Vēdānām Vēda'.<sup>13</sup> Such an important science which was able

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13 The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar - P.C.Chakravarti, p. 4.

to produce the greatest intellectuals like Pāṇini, Patanjali etc. is bound to influence other languages also. And the Kannada language, which had assimilated the influence of Sanskrit in its formative period itself, was no exception. It is in the foot-steps of Sanskrit in every respect, and more so in grammatical field.

Hence, the grammars in Kannada also followed one or the other school of Sanskrit. And according to scholars like Dr. Burnell,<sup>14</sup> Sabdamāṇi Darpaṇa belongs to the Kātantra school of grammarians. The specific reason why Kannada grammarians followed the Sanskrit grammars closely is that it was the most developed and mechanically precise system that was built by Pāṇini and others. Sanskrit grammar had developed a rich fund of technical terms. All the languages of India including Kannada borrowed heavily from Sanskrit. This is the reason why the influence of Sanskrit on Kannada is so marked.

The impact of Sanskrit grammarians on Kannada grammarians is of three varieties. Firstly, there is the influence of Pāṇini. Secondly, other schools of Sanskrit grammar like Kātantra etc. is clearly noticed. And finally, there is an influence of Prākṛit grammars. Kannada

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14 On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians -  
A.C. Burnell, p.57.

grammarians while drawing upon the Sanskrit material are quite explicit. Though they have taken much material from Sanskrit, it appears that they have not made use of Tamil or Telugu grammars - especially Tōlakappiam, the reputed Tamil grammar of almost Patanjali's time.

The three grammarians of Kannada viz., Nāgevarma II, Kēsirāja and Bhaṭṭakalāṅka did not propose to write a grammar for Kannada language purely. Their intention was to write a grammar for Kannada language which has assimilated the Sanskrit and Prākṛit forms in terms of vocabulary, phonology and syntax. This fact has to be considered from the point of view of the influence of Sanskrit on Kannada grammar.

<sup>15</sup>  
Kēsirāja says that he is writing a 'Karnāṭake lakṣaṇa śabdasāstra'. But this means that he is writing a grammar for literary Kannada which contains forms from Sanskrit and Prākṛit also. In the Kannada language of our grammarians all the forms tatsama, tadbhava, dēśya and anyadēśya etc. are included. Whenever they have to deal with a particular point which is already discussed in Sanskrit grammars, they say it clearly that it is already discussed in Sanskrit grammars, hence they are not discussing it. <sup>16</sup> In their

15 S.D. I-3.

16 Śabdā. -

grammars, our grammarians intended to write a grammar for the literary Kannada on the canvas of Sanskrit grammars and only where there is an obvious feature of difference they state it. We can recollect Kēsirāja's enumeration of<sup>17</sup> Kannada alphabets. There he starts first with the enumeration of Sanskrit sounds, then he adds the sounds peculiar to Kannada and finally substracts the sounds peculiar to Sanskrit. All this is to establish the inventory of significant sounds for Kannada. This way, Kannada grammarians who were writing grammars for Kannada language, did so under the complete influence of Sanskrit.

Added to this, not a single grammarian in Kannada wanted to build a system of Grammar for Kannada. His intention was to accommodate Kannada language-structure into the well-established system of Sanskrit grammar. While writing a Kannada grammar, what they did was to follow the established authorities like Pāṇini and Prākṛit works.

Prākṛit languages also exerted a great deal of influence both on Kannada grammars and on Kannada language. Prākṛits were equally well respected languages. These languages which were having a rich literature of their own, influenced even Sanskrit, with the result that the regional

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forms of Sanskrit entered Sanskrit dramas. They were next only to Sanskrit. Moreover, great grammars were also written for Prākṛit languages by the scholars like Vararuchi etc. Just as Sanskrit words had entered into Kannada in the form of Tatsamas and Tadbhavas, in the same way Prākṛit words also came into Kannada. Hence, it was but natural for Kannada grammarians to follow Prākṛit grammars also. Following both Sanskrit and Prākṛit grammars, the Kannada grammarians wrote their grammars for Kannada. The impact of Sanskrit upon the Kannada grammarians was so much that they even preferred to write their grammars for Kannada in Sanskrit language only. Out of the four grammars by three grammarians in Kannada two are in Sanskrit. Hence, the first full-fledged grammar for Kannada language by Nāgavarma II was in Sanskrit. As Nāgavarma was following the Sanskrit grammatical pattern and adopting the same technical term, he thought it fit to use the Sanskrit language also. The last grammar also came to be written in Sanskrit. Bhaṭṭakalāṅka wrote the sūtras, vṛtti and even commentary also in Sanskrit. All these facts bear a clear testimony to the influence of Sanskrit on Kannada.

While following the Sanskrit grammatical system for Kannada, with necessary changes, and also writing their grammatical works themselves in Sanskrit, the Kannada

grammarians might have had some basic assumption about the nature of grammars. This assumption might have been that there is no difference between <sup>one</sup> language and the other. In the commentary under 442 of Śabdānusāsaṇa, Bhaṭṭakalāṅka states that there is no difference so far as the theory and the grounds for the theory are concerned. It is only while implementing the theory, that the question of difference in languages arises. But whatever applies to the Sanskrit language, may apply to the Kannada language equally well. Hence, they are adopting such a scheme. The fallacy in such an assumption is unmistakable. They equated the structure of Kannada and the structure of the Sanskrit grammar. They ignored the fundamental differences of structure of each language. So, the grammars they produced under the influence of Sanskrit did not become true grammars of Kannada language.

Scholars of the eminence of Dr.A.C.Burnell are of the opinion that Kannada grammars, including Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa, belong to the Kātantra school of Aindra system. To substantiate Dr.Burnell's view, the characteristics of the Kātantra grammars should be studied first and then an attempt should be made to trace the same in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa.

The characteristics may be divided into two sorts viz.,

- 1) The use of technical terms, and
- 2) The arrangement of the subject matter.

The grammars belonging to the Aindra school have a natural arrangement as opposed to the artificial arrangement of Pāṇini.<sup>18</sup> The natural arrangement of the topics in Kātantra grammar is: First, there is a topic of phonetics and an elaborate description of the alphabet. Next, comes the treatment of the nouns, verbal themes (ākṛyāta), 'krit affixes, particles (nipāta) and indeclinables (avyaya) etc. This kind of arrangement appears natural and logical. The arrangement of the topics in the Pāṇiniya grammar is:

- 1) technical terms, rules of interpretation of the sūtras, explanation of technical terms etc.
- 2) Samāsa, use of cases, affixes.
- 3) Affixes which form verbs and nouns.
- 4) Augment and reduplication, accent, inflection.
- 5) Special rules; rules of euphony.

It can be seen from the arrangement of the topics in two systems that Pāṇini's arrangement is different from that found in Kātantra. It is artificial as opposed to simple and natural arrangement of Kātantra. Moreover, the treatment,

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18 On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians - p.9.

which is on a very advanced level, can not be easily understood by the beginners. Kātantra grammar is useful for the beginner who wants to study Sanskrit.

In the use of technical terms, both the systems differ  
19  
widely. The Aindra system uses the common words, of course with technical meaning. In the Pāṇinīya school, the technical terms are the highly artificial abbreviations or letters used with a particular conventional value assigned to them. They are not words, but mere symbols. In this respect, there is little in common between the Kātantra and the Pāṇinīya schools. Of course, some terms of the former are found in the latter. Various points in this connection may be enumerated as follows:

The four-fold division of the words into: a) nāman (noun), ākhyāta (verb), upasarga (preposition), and nipāta (particle). This device is found in Yaska and Kātantra. In Pāṇini, only upasarga and nipāta being retained, others are treated in a more complicated way. In Pāṇini, for nāma we find the terms 'sup' and 'subanta', for 'ākhyāta' we find 'tin'. Both are artificial technical terms; as such belong to the advanced stage. For the old simple terms in Kātantra

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there is an elaborate classification in Panini.

Coming to the terms on phonetics. In Kātantra grammar vowel is 'svara', consonant is 'Vyānjana'. Vowels are either short (hrasva) or long (dīrgha). Consonants may have further sub-divisions viz., medials (antasthāḥ), fricatives (ūṣmāṇ-ah). The term for the vowels except a, ā is 'nāmin'. The term for diphthong is 'sandhyakṣara'. Then, there is the term 'Samāna', a name of the vowels a to ī. The letter is indicated by the term varga (kavarga etc.).

Compared with the above Kātantra system, that of Pāṇini at once appears to be totally different. In Pāṇini, there is no classification of the letters. Use of 'varga' to name a class of letters (viz., Kavarga etc.) is replaced in Pāṇini's system by the single letter 'u' suffixed (e.g. ku means ka-varga). Among the above terms, only hrasva and dīrgha, according to Burnell, occur in Pāṇini, that too, not as a part of the system.

In Kātantra, we have 'sthāna' (point of articulation); in Pāṇini the term is 'āśya'. The term 'mātrā' to indicate time taken by the letter which is found in Kātantra, is not to be seen in Pāṇini. In Kātantra the terms relating to ākhyāta are: vibhakti, and 8 cases are termed prathamā, dvitīyā, etc. upto āmantrita or āmantrana (vocative). Some of these terms are found in Pāṇini, but not as a part of

his system. For vocative in Pāṇini we find 'saṃbuddhi' which also occurs in Kātantra besides (āmantrita). There is no use of gūnas (i.e. words which behave alike) whereas in Pāṇini there is a detailed treatment of them.

On the strength of the comparison of these technical terms, the conclusion Dr. Burnell arrives at are:<sup>20</sup> The terms used by Pāṇini prove that these are far more artificial and precise and therefore, more recent than the former. So where the Aindra grammars have an ordinary word used in a technical sense, Pāṇini mostly has a mere symbol. If the series of technical terms just discussed be considered, it becomes clear that Kātantra belongs to a system altogether different from that of Pāṇini. Thus, there is an older school than Pāṇini which is called Aindra school to which many other works like Kātantra etc. belong. Though the various schools like Kātantra, Sārasvata etc. have some special features in relation to one another, broadly speaking, they belong to the Aindra school of grammarians.

In the light of the distinguishing features of Kātantra and Pāṇiniya school, let us examine the features of Śabda-  
maṇi Darpaṇa and determine its affinity.

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20 Ibid. p.18.

Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa first treats of phonetics. For vowels Kēsirāja uses the term 'svara', for diphthongs 'sandhyakṣara'. Except the vowels a, ā, all others are called nāmin. Consonants are termed 'vyanjana'. There is either a nominal theme (līṅga), or verbal theme (dhātu). By the addition of vibhakti or by pratyaya it becomes 'word' (pada). The second chapter is on nouns. The seven cases are 'prathamā', 'dvitīyā' etc. The vocative is called 'āmantraṇa' or 'saṁbuddhi'. The third chapter is 'samāsa'. The fourth chapter is on derivative nouns - 'taddhita'. The fifth chapter is on verbs - 'ākhyāta'. The sixth chapter is on roots, the seventh on corrupt Sanskrit words (tadbhavas). The last chapter is on <sup>indeclinables</sup> particles - 'avyaya'. Thus, throughout, the arrangement and technical terms closely follow the Kātantra school.

On the study of the grammars of Indian languages like Tamil, Telugu and Kannada, Dr. Burnell says, <sup>21</sup> 'The great and real merit of the Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa is that it bases the rules on independent research and the usage of writers of repute; in this way, it is far ahead of the Tamil and Telugu treatises which are much occupied with vain scholastic disputations'.

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21 Ibid. p.58.

B. Family Environment:

So far, we observed the general grammatical climate, under the inevitable influence of which the Kannada grammarians including Kēsīrāja wrote their grammars. At the time when Kēsīrāja was to write his Śabdamanī Darpaṇa that great tradition was there for him. Hence, from the point of view of grammatical traditions, the well-perfected Sanskrit grammars were helpful to him. This grammatical tradition was for everyone to use. But of all the scholars, how did Kēsīrāja become a great grammarian? For this, there is another important reason. And that is his family background.

He belonged to a family of great scholars. Kēsīrāja had inherited the scholarship from all sides. Let us see what sort of family traditions Kēsīrāja had inherited. He gives the information about his descent in the following  
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verse.

kavi sumanōbāṇana yā -  
davaḥkaṭakācāryaneśeva douhitranenām-  
kavikēśavanem yōgi-  
pravaracidānandamallikārjunana sutenam !

'I, the son of the poet Sumanōbāṇa's daughter, (Sumanō-  
bāṇa), who was the teacher of military art of the army of  
the Yādava kings, I Kavi Kēśava by name, am the son of Cidā-  
nandamallikārjuna who is the best among yōgis'.

His grand father Sumanōbāṇa was teaching military art to the army of Yādeva kings. Kēsīrāja's father was Cidā-nandamallikārjuna.

This Sumanōbāṇa was the father of the great poet Janna the author of 'Yasōdhara carita'. Janna's statement viz.,

bhālālōcānam kavīsumanō  
 bāṇana maganendakhila -  
 kṣōnige pesarāyṭu ! <sup>23</sup>

And,

24  
'Sankara putrām kavi kammevaṃśanādhikajñan kāśyapaṃ',  
is helpful in considering Sumanōbāṇa as Janna's father, and  
his real name was Sankara. Sumanōbāṇa was, perhaps, an  
epithet. He belonged to the Kamme family. His wife's name  
was Gengā. No work written by him is available to us. But  
Mallikārjuna, Janne, Kēsirāja praise him in very laudatory

23      Yaśōdhara carita 4

24 Anantanāthapurāṇa ४

terms. This fact helps us to decide that he was a great poet.

Kēsīrāja's father was Mallikārjuna. He has compiled 'Sūktisudhārṇava'. It is an anthology of poems relating to poets etc. His 'Sūktisudhārṇava' is a valuable work as it mentions many previous poets. This Kēsīrāja's father was the son-in-law of Sumanōbāṇa. Sumanōbāṇa's daughter, the sister of Janna, was his wife.

Janna was Kēsīrāja's maternal uncle, i.e. sister of Janna was Kēsīrāja's mother. This Janna has written 'Yas'ōdhara carita', and 'Anantanātha Purāṇa', ~~which are available till today~~. It is inferred that he has written another work 'Smaratantra' which is not available.

Janna was holding the title 'poet-emperor' (kavi-cakravarti). As many poets after him have praised him, it is needless to say that he was held in high esteem by the scholars.

This was the great family-tradition of Kēsīrāja. So he was brought up in great literary atmosphere which helped him blossom into a great grammarian. This way Kēsīrāja was doubly fortunate in having the great grammatical tradition in general, and being brought up in the great scholastic atmosphere in particular.

C) Kēsirāja's equipment:

Now, we will consider Kēsirāja's equipment which was responsible for making him a great grammarian of Kannada language.

In his Śabdamañi Darpaṇa, while stating the sources for his illustrations, etc. he says:

gajagana guṇanandīya mana  
sijanasagana candrabhaṭṭa guṇavarma śrī  
vijayara honnana haṃpaṇa  
sujanōttamaṣaṇa sumārgamidaṛolēḷakṣyaṇi !<sup>25</sup>

Kēsirāja relied for illustrations on Gajaga, Guṇanandi, Manasija, Asaga, Candrabhaṭṭa, Guṇavarma, Śrīvijaya, Honna,<sup>Hampa</sup> and Sujonottaṃsa. Though Kēsirāja states specifically that the path laid down by the above poets has been his ideal, the verses of all of them are not found in his work. Moreover, these are not the only sources for him. There are many more works of others which are made use of while illustrating etc. Here<sup>after</sup> follow, all the sources including those mentioned above.

-----

1) Srīvijaya:

In the verse quoted above, the name of Srīvijaya appears. He has written Kavimārga, the earlier version of Kavirāja Mārga, according to some scholars. He has also written 'Candraprabha Purāṇa' which is not available now.

2) Kavirāja Mārga:

It is the first available work in Kannada which deals with poetics. In addition to poetics, it has also dealt with grammatical topics. Thus, it is a very valuable work. Surprisingly, Kēsirāja has taken very little from Kavirāja Mārga.

The following are the verses from Kavirāja Mārga:

1)	82 - 5	(readings)
2)	112 - 2	(1 - 15)
3)	106 - 7	(3 - 233)
4)	100 - 9	(1 - 32)

3) Asaga:

Asaga appears to be a much respected poet as Poona, Durgasimha, Kēsirāja etc. praise him. He might have lived before 950 A.D. as that happens to be the age of Poona by whom Asaga is referred.



There are two Asagas, one, the author of 'Vardhamāna Purāṇa' and 'Sānti Purāṇa' both in Sanskrit, and the second the author of 'Kumāra Saṁbhava' in Kannada. It appears that Kēsīrāja has quoted from Asaga's 'Kumāra Saṁbhava'. The following are the illustrations from his 'Kumāra Saṁbhava'.

- 1) 202 - 9
- 2) 255 - 4
- 3) 69 - 3
- 4) 234 - 5
- 5) asaganidesi ?

Then there are other illustrative verses which refer to Śiva legend, which, perhaps, may be from the same work.

- 6) 75 -
- 7) 82 -
- 8) 127 -
- 9) 179 -
- 10) 243 -

4) Guṇanandi:

In addition to Kēsīrāja, Guṇanandi is referred to by Mallikārjuna also. Mallikārjuna has taken some verses from

him. Guṇanandi has written a grammar in Sanskrit entitled 'Prakriyāvatāra'. There is a lone verse in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa quoted from Guṇanandi viz. 35-2.

5) Guṇavarma:

Kēśirāja, in addition to mentioning Guṇavarma, quotes from his work. Guṇavarma's works are two viz., 1) Harivaṁśa and 2) Śūdraka. Kēśirāja quotes a verse 'enittenittambujapatranētreya', but does not indicate the source of it. The same verse is quoted in Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa wherein it<sup>27</sup> is stated 'Guṇavarma Kavērbhuvanaikarāṁasya prayōgah'. Hence, it belongs to Guṇavarma's work, but from which it is, again, not known. The following are the verses quoted from his 'Harivaṁśa'.

- |    |         |
|----|---------|
| 1) | 128 - 3 |
| 2) | 128 - 2 |

Verses from Śūdraka are:

- |    |         |
|----|---------|
| 1) | 79 -    |
| 2) | 257 - 1 |
| 3) | 194 -   |
| 4) | 198 -   |

---

27 Kar. Bhā. Bhū. - 1.

- 5) 228 - 7
- 6) 181 - 3
- 7) 190 - f.n.
- 8) 228 - 8
- 9) 228 -

6) Pampa:

Pampa, the first and greatest poet in Kannada has become a constant source for Kēsirāja. Kēsirāja has taken examples from both of his works viz., 1) Ādipurāṇa and 2) Vikramārjuna Vijaya which is popularly called Pampa Bhārata. Following are the verses from Ādipurāṇa.

- 1) 194 - 4 (reading)
- 2) 192 - 3
- 3) 145 - 1
- 4) 125 - 1
- 5) 55 - 1
- 6) 106 - 4
- 7) 92 - 3
- 8) 97 - 4
- 9) 232 - 5
- 10) 55 - 7
- 11) 236 - 8
- 12) 139 - 1

13)	114 - 5	
14)	11 - 3	
15)	11 - 6	
16)	70 - 3	
17)	187 - 2	
18)	128 - 7	
19)	54 - 1	
20)	63 - 7	
21)	111 - 1	
22)	191 - 6	(reading)
23)	90 - 4	
24)	109 - 4	(reading)
25)	246 - 6	
26)	191 - 6	(reading)
27)	171 - 1	
28)	113 - 1	
29)	104 - 1	
30)	193 - 1	
31)	194 - 2	
32)	92 - 1	
33)	128 - 1	
34)	111 - 4	
35)	140 - 1	

Pampa Bhārata

1)	234 - 9	( 3 - 12)
----	---------	-----------

2)	128 - 4	( 2 - 48)
3)	153 - 1	( 4 - 41)
4)	240 - 4	( 6 - 40)
5)	63 - 6	( 6 - 40)
6)	196 - 5	( 3 - 25)
7)	58 - 7	
8)	196 - 4	( 3 - 27)
9)	180 - 3	( 3 - 43)
10)	226 - 2	
11)	137 - 4	( 4 - 41)
12)	148 - 3	(10 - 10)
13)	186 - 5	( 3 - 27)
14)	194 - 1	(10 - 25)
15)	100 - 5	(10 - 25)
16)	87 - 1	( 7 - 33)
17)	170 - 1	( 2 - 80)
18)	143 - 2	( 3 - 62)

7) Ponna:

Ponna has written 'Śānti Purāṇa' and 'Jinākṣara Māle'. In addition to these two, he seems to have written 'Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyudaya', and 'Gatapratyāgata'. Kēsirāja has taken following verses from his 'Śānti Purāṇa'.

- |    |         |           |
|----|---------|-----------|
| 1) | 114 - 1 |           |
| 2) | 248 - 4 | ( 9 - 52) |
| 3) | 199 - 1 | (12 - 77) |
| 4) | 269 - 6 | ( 1 - 63) |

The following are from his 'Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyudaya'.

- |    |         |
|----|---------|
| 1) | 122 - 1 |
| 2) | 159 -   |
| 3) | 176 - 1 |

8) Nāgavarma I:

Nāgavarma I who flourished in the 10th century A.D. has written two works viz., 1) Candombudhi, and 2) Karnāṭaka Kādambari. Kēśirāja quotes two verses from his Kādambari.

- |    |         |
|----|---------|
| 1) | 259 - 1 |
| 2) | 259 - 2 |

9) Ranna:

One of the three jewels of Kannada literature, Ranna has written 'Gadāyuddha' and 'Ajita Purāṇa' which are available to us. He is also credited with 'Parasurāma Carite' and 'Cakrēśvara Carite' which are not available to us. Kēśirāja quotes the following verses from his 'Gadāyuddha'.

1)	55 - 11	
2)	45 - 1	
3)	226 - 5	( 5 - 18)
4)	71 - 18	
5)	243 - 8	( 4 - 47)
6)	100 - 4	
7)	125 - 3	
8)	247 - 5	
9)	55 - 6	(reading)
10)	219 - 5	
11)	226 - 3	( 5 - 7)
12)	129 - 1	( 5 - 20)
13)	106 - 5	( 5 - 36)
14)	119 - 2	(10 - 2)

The following verses are from his 'Ajita Purāṇa'.

1)	63 - 9	( 2 - 48)
2)	69 - 1	( 6 - 27)

10) Nāgacandra:

Nāgacandra who belongs to 1100 A.D. is also known as 'Abhinava Pampa'. He has written two works viz., 1) Kāmacandra Carita Purāṇa (Pampa Rāmāyana) and 2) Mallinātha Purāṇa.

The following are the illustrations from Nāgacandra's 'Rāmāyaṇa'.

1)	129 - 4	( 9 - 118)
2)	223 - 1	( 1 - 32)
3)	223 - 10	( 7 - 98)
4)	223 - 5	( 7 - 98)
5)	58 - 8	( 9 - 113)

11) Brahmasiva:

Brahmasiva, who belongs to the 1100 A.D. has written two works 1) Samaya Parīkṣe, and 2) Trailōkyacūḍāmaṇi<sup>28</sup> stōtra. R.Narasimhachar has pointed out that the example No.2 of sūtra 76 is from Brahmasiva.

12) Nāgavarma II:

Nāgavarma II has written three works viz.,

- 1) Kāvyaevaḷōkana
- 2) Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa
- 3) Abhidhāna vestukōsa

Kēsirāja has followed Nāgavarma to a great extent.

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28 Ka. Ka. Cha. p.129.

Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa is said to be expanded version of Nāga-  
varma's Śabdasṃṛti Adhikaraṇa and Kēśirāja's quotations  
from this work both in the form of sūtras and in the form  
of illustrations corroborate this fact. The following is  
the list of illustrations from his Vastukōśa.

- 1) 88 - 1
- 2) 133 - 2

From Kāvyaśloka

- |                    |                        |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1) 119 - 4         | 2) 200 - 1             |
| 3) 201 - 2         | 4) 58 - 1              |
| 5) 58 - 2          | 6) 229 - 10            |
| 7) 228 - 6         | 8) 63 - 4              |
| 9) 97 - 3          | 10) 229 - 1            |
| 11) 74 - 7         | 12) 55 - 18            |
| 13) 115 - 2        | 14) 55 - 1             |
| 15) 106 - 4        | 16) 93 - 3             |
| 17) 173 - 4 (f.n.) | 18) 198 - 4            |
| 19) 58 - 5         | 20) 97 - 4             |
| 21) 183 - 1        | 22) 68 - 5             |
| 23) 69 - 12        | 24) 106 - 3            |
| 25) 99 - 6         | 26) 55 - 7 (Ādipurāṇa) |

27)	169 - Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyudaya	28)	228 - 2
29)	92 - 1	30)	120 - 2 (Gumavarne)
31)	185 - 3	32)	139 - 1 (Ādipurāṇa)
33)	174 - 1	34)	65 - 9 (Ajitapurāṇa)
35)	127 - 2	36)	69 - 1 ( " )
37)	114 - 6	38)	11 - 3 (f.n.) (Ādi- purāṇa)
39)	236 - 4	40)	210 - 1
41)	68 - 1	42)	101 - 1
43)	68 - 2	44)	183 - 1
45)	186 - 2	46)	11 - 6
47)	70 - 3	48)	67 after vṛtti 6.
49)	70 - 6	50)	57 - 6
51)	71 - 6	52)	22 - 2
53)	55 - 2	54)	68 - 10
55)	68 - 11	56)	68 - 13
57)	192 - 2	58)	58 - 9
59)	189 - 1	60)	108 - 1
61)	219 - 10	62)	238 - 3
63)	126 - 1	64)	97 - 2
65)	232 - 7	66)	198 - 2
67)	248 - 5	68)	208 - 5 (f.n.)
69)	63 - 8 (for sandhi)	70)	77 - 1
71)	216 - 1	72)	126 - 5

- |                                      |                              |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 73) 69 - 18                          | 74) 237 - 2                  |
| 75) 173 - 2 (Harivaṃśa<br>Kāvyaśāra) | 76) 178 - 2                  |
| 77) 243 - 6                          | 78) 166 - 1                  |
| 79) 58 - 3                           | 80) 69 - 13                  |
| 81) 201 - 1                          | 82) 69 - 3                   |
| 83) 238 - 8                          | 84) 198 - 4 (reading)        |
| 85) 17 -                             | 86) 137 - 1                  |
| 87) 198 - 4                          | 88) 70 - 1                   |
| 89) 58 - 4                           | 90) 172 - 5                  |
| 91) 231 - 5                          | 92) 246 - 5 (Sūdraka)        |
| 93) 17 -                             | 94) 185 - 6 (reading)        |
| 95) 194 - 1 (Pāṃpa<br>Bhārata)       | 96) 208 - 1                  |
| 97) 191 - 6 (f.n.)<br>(Ādipurāṇa)    | 98) 70 - 4                   |
| 99) 17 -                             | 100) 100 - 5 (Pāṃpa Bhārata) |
| 101) 192 - 7 (f.n.)                  | 102) 67 - 1                  |
| 103) 236 - 5                         | 104) 155 - 2                 |
| 105) 98 - 1                          | 106) 112 - 7 (f.n.)          |
| 107) 100 - 6                         | 108) 68 - 6                  |
| 109) 71 - 1                          | 110) 60 -                    |
| 111) 202 - 1                         | 112) 185 - 1                 |
| 113) 109 - 4 (reading)               | 114) 244 - 7                 |
| 115) 87 - 1 (Pāṃpa<br>Bhārata)       | 116) 63 - 5                  |

117)	18 -	Kanda	118)	237 - 1
119)	98 - 3		120)	22 - 3
121)	198 - 6		122)	71 - 20
123)	109 - 3	(reading)	124)	198 - 3
125)	138 - 6	(f.n.)	126)	118 - 2
127)	108 - 2		128)	57 - 2
129)	110 - 4		130)	69 - 4
131)	243 - 12	(reading)	132)	223 - 4
133)	178 - 3		134)	205 - 1
135)	191 - 1	(reading)	136)	228 - 1
137)	191 - 6	(reading)	138)	101 - 2
139)	119 - 1		140)	71 - 9
141)	136 -	for 'Visaya'	142)	13 -
143)	232 - 4		144)	57 - 10
145)	13 - 1	(Ādipurāṇa)	146)	128 - 6 (reading)
147)	219 - 6		148)	245 - 2
149)	71 - 21		150)	230 - 2
151)	195 - 1		152)	193 - 1 (Ādipurāṇa)
153)	194 - 2	(Ādipurāṇa)	154)	128 - 1 ( " )
155)	238 - 2		156)	189 - 2
157)	143 - 2	(Pāṇḍya Bhārata)	158)	55 - 9
159)	57 - 5		160)	67 - 6
161)	296 - 1		162)	241 - 3

13) Nēmicandra:

Nēmicandra who belongs to the 12th century A.D. has written two works viz., 1) Līlāvati and 2) Nēninātha purāṇa.

The following verses of 'Līlāvati' are found in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa also.

1)	219 - 3
2)	57 - 1
3)	106 - 7
4)	69 - 9

14) Boppana Pandita:

He is known by his epithet 'Sujanōttaṁsa' also. He belonged to the latter half of the 12th century A.D. He has written 'Nirvāṇalakṣmīpati Nakṣatra Mālike' 2) Gommaṭa stuti, and 3) Nīti Kāṇḍagaḷu. Kēsīrāja has taken as illustrations in three places from him.

1)	98 - 2
2)	100 - 4
3)	137 - 2
4)	110 - 3

15) Janna: (1209 A.D.)

Janna has written 1) Yasōdhara Carite and 2) Ananta-nātha Purāṇa. It is said that he has also written a third work viz., 'Smaratantra', which is not available. Kēsirāja has taken one verse from his 'Yasōdhara Carite'

- |    |                   |
|----|-------------------|
| 1) | 171 - 1 ( 1 - 52) |
|----|-------------------|

16) Mallikārjuna:

Kēsirāja's father Mallikārjuna has compiled an anthology entitled 'Sūktisudhārṇava'. But, unexpectedly not many verses are quoted from him. In the whole range of numerous illustrations, there are only two from 'Sūktisudhārṇava'.

- |    |         |
|----|---------|
| 1) | 254 - 1 |
| 2) | 231 - 4 |

17) Śravanabelagola Inscription:

From Śravanabelagola inscriptions also there are two instances quoted in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa.

- |    |                   |
|----|-------------------|
| 1) | 58 - 4            |
| 2) | 163 - 1 (No. 327) |

18) Rāmāyaṇa:

In addition to the verses mentioned so far, it is said that there are verses <sup>29</sup> from some 'Rāmāyaṇa' work which is not available. There are eight such verses given by Kēsirāja. The following are the sūtras in which these illustrative verses occur.

1)	116
2)	206
3)	76
4)	194
5)	157
6)	194
7)	238
8)	252

19) Mahābhārata:

Mahābhārata was a great source for Kannada poets. The first available work on poetry is the Bhārata of Pampa. It is not unlikely that there were a few works relating to 'Mahābhārata' theme prior to Pampa. About 62 such <sup>30</sup> verses (in 70 sūtras) are culled out from various

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29 Kavirāja Mārgada Parisarada Sēhitya, p.362.

30 Ibid. p.367.

sources that are illustrated in Śabdamañi Darpaṇa. The  
sūtras which contain these verses are:

1)	125	2)	162
3)	21	4)	52
5)	133	6)	249
7)	161	8)	63
9)	163	10)	232
11)	228	12)	162
13)	236	14)	255
15)	191	16)	162
17)	240	18)	76
19)	111	20)	238
21)	232	22)	109
23)	232	24)	79
25)	191	26)	247
27)	30	28)	252
29)	76	30)	257
31)	74	32)	108
33)	250	34)	235
35)	247	36)	174
37)	145	38)	249
39)	252	40)	63
41)	222	42)	251

43)	240	44)	256
45)	240	46)	109
47)	78	48)	248
49)	184	50)	108
51)	253	52)	193
53)	124	54)	256
55)	245	56)	252
57)	256	58)	252
59)	82	60)	248
61)	21	62)	248
63)	83	64)	243
65)	186	66)	250
67)	71	68)	134
69)	63	70)	65

This is the vast range of equipment that Kēsīrāja possessed. In addition to these, it is quite likely that Kēsīrāja might have drawn upon from his own works. Kēsīrāja has written five works which are:

- 1) Cōlaspālaka Carita
- 2) Śrī Citramāle
- 3) Subhadrāheraṇa
- 4) Prabhōdhaśandra
- 5) Kirāta

But unfortunately not a single work of his is available now.

The range of Kēsirāja's reference works is really wide. It is spread over almost 500 years, beginning from the early part of the 9th century (Kavirāja Marga) and even earlier, to his own time i.e. the middle of the 13th century. He has consulted more than 20 authors and more than 30 important works excluding his own. Knowing fully well that it is the usages of the great poets that really matter to the grammarian, he has utilized the best works in Kannada literature upto his time. One of the reasons why Śabdamañi Darpaṇa is widely accepted and appreciated is the fund of illustrations it contains. He has put in a patient labour true to the man with scientific spirit and exhaustively quoted from the great works.

One more feature of Kēsirāja is that unlike other grammarians in Kannada he has based his rules on colloquial forms also. It is true to Kēsirāja, the great grammarian that he was, as the dictum goes, the grammarians are fond of usages.' For the grammarian the term 'usage' does not mean only the 'usages' found in the books i.e. literary language, but the usages of the common people i.e. colloquial forms also. Whether Kēsirāja liked

such forms or not, he has given them abundently. This fact, really, is characteristic of an objective grammarian that Kēsīrāja is.

Kēsīrāja helped by the grammatical tradition of his time, being brought up in the scholarly atmosphere of his family, was having the necessary atmosphere to write a comprehensive grammar like Śabdamañi Derpaṇa.

CHAPTER - III

A) Arrangement of topics in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa:

In Sanskrit grammars there are broadly two systems followed in arranging the topics. They are:

- 1) Kātantra system,
- 2) Pāṇiniyan system.

The salient features of both these systems have been discussed in the previous chapter. Though, broadly speaking, all the grammatical works are put into two systems, this is not to deny the fact that there may exist minor points of adjustment etc. in various schools of Sanskrit grammar. Hence, all the Sanskrit grammars, to whatever school they may belong, fall under either Kātantra system or the Pāṇiniyan system with modifications, deviations etc. to suit their purpose.

The characteristics of the Kātantra system, like those of Pāṇiniyan system, may have to be studied on two levels:

- 1) Use of technical terminology,
- 2) Arrangement of the subject-matter.

The difference between Kātantra and the Pāṇiniyan schools regarding the use of technical terms is already

shown in the previous chapter. In the arrangement of the subject-matter also, Kātantra system has its own way. The grammatical works which belong to the Kātantra (Aindra) school have a natural arrangement as opposed to the self-devised arrangement found in Pāṇiniyan school.<sup>1</sup> The natural arrangement of the topics in Kātantra grammar is:

First, there is a topic of phonetics and an elaborate description of the varṇas.

Next comes the treatment of the nouns, verbal themes (Ākhyāta), 'kṛit' suffixes, particles (nipāta) etc.

Lastly, there is a chapter on indeclinables (avyayas).

All the Kannada grammars have closely followed the Sanskrit grammatical system. Wherever there are points in Kannada structure too obvious to ignore, they find place therein. Added to this, of the four grammars written for the Kannada language, two are written in Sanskrit. These Kannada grammars describe the Sanskrit language structure first and then note some Kannada features. This is the reason why the scheme of the subject-matter in the Sanskrit grammars has also been given.

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1 On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians - p.9.

Of the four grammars of Kannada language, the first one viz., Śabdasmṛiti section of Kāvyaśāloka, as it forms a part of the bigger scheme, does not cover all the topics of grammar. It treats of terminology (i), Euphonic combination (ii), Nouns (iii), Compounds (iv), Derivatives (v) and Verbs (vi). Still, this arrangement of topics is similar to that of Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa. The arrangement of topics as also the general treatment of the subject matter of Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa is closely followed by Kēsirāja in his Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa. As R. Narasimha-<sup>2</sup>char has observed: (Kāvyaśāloka and Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa) "are the earliest extant Kannada and Sanskrit works on the grammar of the Kannada language and they have been expanded by the later grammarians Kēsirāja and Bhaṭṭaśāloka in their monumental works, the Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa and the Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsaṇa respectively." The last of the four great traditional Kannada grammars viz., Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsaṇa is slightly different in its arrangement of the subject matter. It has arranged the subject matter in four pādas. The main subject dealt with in each pāda are:

- 1) The samjñā, the definition of technical terms,

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2 Kāvyaśāloka, introduction, p.1.

3 Kar. Śabdā.- R. Narasimha-<sup>3</sup>char, 1923.

indeclinables, euphonic combination, particles;

2) Gender, words corrupted from Sanskrit, case-affixes.

3) Compounds, uses of personal pronouns, numerals, derivatives.

4) Verbs and verbal affixes. According to R.Narasimhachar<sup>4</sup> the general arrangement in Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana resembles the natural system of the old Kaumudi simplifications of Pāṇini<sup>5</sup>. But the scholars like Dr.A.C.Burnell are of the opinion<sup>6</sup> that Kannada grammars, chiefly Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa, belong to the Kātantra school of Aindra system. The three Kannada grammars fall into one group, and the Śabdānuśāsana forms a separate group as far as it relates to the arrangement of the topics. Of the three grammars forming a group, there can be found some differences, but Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa fits in the Kātantra scheme well. That was the reason why Dr.Burnell, while dealing with Kātantra system, and considering the grammars of the regional languages, includes<sup>6</sup> only Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa among Kannada grammars.

4 Kar. Śabdā. - R.Narasimhachar, 1923, intro. p.8.

5 On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians, p.8.

6 Ibid. p.58.

In this background, let us consider the arrangement of the topics in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa. The 337 sūtras of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa are distributed in the following chapters.

- 1) Introduction - In this the subject matter is introduced and the technical terms explained;
- 2) Euphonic combination (sandhi) - In addition to giving a detailed material on phonetics, an elaborate rules are framed in respect of Kannada Sandhi phenomenon;
- 3) Nouns (Nāma) - Definition of noun, various kinds of noun, their behaviour etc. are given;
- 4) Compound (samāsa) - Various kinds of compound constructions taking into account the over-all pattern of the Kannada language including Sanskrit are given;
- 5) Derivatives (Taddhita) - The derivatives are enumerated, and the meaning of each derivative is given;
- 6) Verbal themes (Ākhyātas) - Inflectional affixes with all the possible varieties of Kannada language are discussed;
- 7) Roots (Dhātu) - Kannada verbal roots with their variations in meaning ranging from one to five are listed;

8) Corruptions (Apabhraṃśa) - Both from Sanskrit as well as Prākṛit languages on Tatsama and Tadbhava levels are discussed;

9) Indeclinables (Avyayas) - are discussed in detail.

10) Pravōga sāra: The meanings of uncommon words given in the illustrations have been given.

B) Summary of the Chapters:

1) In the chapter on 'Introduction', Kēsīrāja gives some bio-data and states the purpose of writing Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa. One sūtra on phonetics also is found.

2) Second chapter viz., 'Euphonic combination' starts with phonetics. He explains sound and letter. Two forms of the letter-audible and visual-are given. Then he enumerates the Kannada alphabet. The method followed here is: to enumerate the Sanskrit alphabet (52) adding the letters which are peculiar to Kannada, and subtracting the letters that are peculiar to Sanskrit (10). Thus, he establishes 47 <sup>Varnās</sup> letters as inventory of Kannada varṇas.

In the second part of the same chapter, Kēsīrāja discusses the Sandhi phenomenon in all its facets. Here also, he treats as usual, both Sanskrit and Kannada forms.

3) In the chapter on 'Nouns', Kēsīrāja starts with the definition of the nominal base. Further he divides the nominal base into four kinds: 1) 'krit' 2) Derivative, 3) Compound and 4) nominal.

The noun is divided into three kinds: viz., 1) rūḍha, 2) anvartha and 3) añkita (proper).

Then he treats of the pronouns, and after that 'Samasaṅskṛita'.

Then he comes to gender which he divides into nine kinds: (1) masculine, 2) feminine, 3) neuter, 4) masculine-neuter, 5) masculine-feminine, 6) feminine-neuter, 7) masculine-feminine-neuter, 8) viśeṣyādhīna and 9) indeclinable (avyaya).

7) In the chapter on 'roots (Dhātu)' Kēsīrāja lists the 985 roots of Kannada. He also classifies these roots as roots ending in k, roots ending in -g and so on. He also gives the meaning of each of the root listed.

8) The chapter on 'Corruptions' (Apebhrāṣa) enumerated the corrupted words from Sanskrit (and Prākṛit). He explains the changes giving a number of examples for each. He has exhaustively dealt with the changes in the Sanskrit words while coming into Kannada. Then he treats the compou-

ds formed of Sanskrit and Kannada words, including the restrictions etc. He now goes on to treat the words common to both Sanskrit and Kannada (Tatsama).

9) The chapter on 'Indeclinables' (Avyaya) lists the indeclinable forms like imitative words etc. and also gives the suffixes to form the indeclinables out of other forms.

9) Formal classification - Modern point of view:

Language is a system. This system of language is constituted of several sub-systems. The following are the sub-systems that can be found in a language.<sup>7</sup>

1) The Phonetic system: The sounds that are articulated by human vocal organs and their description.

2) The Phonological system: The stock of significant sounds that are used in a particular language under consideration, and the arrangement in which these phonemes (significant sounds) can occur.

3) The Grammatical system: The stock of morphemes (sequences of phonemes with meaning) and the arrangement in which they occur.

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7 A Course in Modern Linguistics - C.F.Hockett, p.137.

- 4) The Morphophonemic System: The code which ties together the grammatical and phonological systems.
- 5) The Semantic System: The association of sound combinations, sequences of these sound combinations, and their arrangements with things and situations (meaning).

All these five sub-systems together constitute a system of language. The study of a language means the study of these sub-systems. But, while studying these sub-systems we have to take cognisance of hierarchical structure<sup>8</sup> found among these sub-systems. That is, for effective analysis of phonemes (phonology), we should have an accurate description of the sounds (phonetics). Similarly, phonology becomes the basis for morphology. It is only when the correct arrangement and sequences of phonemes are established, the study of these <sup>combinations</sup> consequences with meanings (Morphology) will be accurate. Next, comes the representation of the phonemes in the morphemes (morphophonemics). And the study of meanings also will be there, though there is no precise instrument yet available to measure the degree of meaning. The five sub-systems explained so far will be so many levels on which language is studied and analysed.

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This is the method followed in the analysis of a language in modern linguistics. This modern linguistic method will be used in the present analysis. The material treated in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa will be investigated from the point of view of modern concepts and procedures. Looked at from this point of view, the subject matter dealt in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa does not appear to be logical in many places. Even from the point of view of traditional analysis, Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa falls short of this requirement. The evidence for this statement is the scattering of the material in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa. For example, a sūtra on phonetics is found in the introductory chapter without any connection whatsoever. Then much material on phonetics can be seen in the Sandhi chapter. And there too, it is not in order. While treating the material on phonetics and phonemics, Kēśirāja suddenly brings in the case-suffixes.<sup>10</sup> Then, again, he continues with phonetics. Another evidence for this point is: he explains ॠ (ṛaḥ) and ॡ (ḥaḥ) in the sūtra 28 of Sandhi chapter and illustrates in subsequent sūtras. When all this is over, once again the treatment of ॠ comes

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9 S.D. sūtra - 9.

10 S.D. sūtra - 45.

in the sūtra 28. This can be explained partly by Kēsīrāja's objective in writing his Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa. That is, he is writing a treatise on words (Śabdasāstra).<sup>11</sup> And the treatment of sounds, letters etc. is given as an aid to understand that science of words.<sup>12</sup> The implication of this statement is that Kēsīrāja is writing a science of words, and wherever necessary, for the understanding of that science, he is treating other topics. Even here, while treating other topics incidentally, he could have arranged the matter in a logical sequence. But, that is not found in his grammar at places.

In the ensuing chapter all the grammatical material in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa is studied on the levels mentioned above. The material on phonetics culled from different chapters will be arranged in one place. Similarly, the material on phonemics scattered in different places will be brought together and analysed. Phonetics and phonemics together constitute the study of phonology. Hence there will be two sections in that chapter on phonology. Then comes the treatment on morphology with all the allied topics in it. After morphology will be dealt the portion on morphophonemics. And with whatever little material at our disposal,

11 S.D. - Vṛitti on Sūtra 11.

12 tatsāstravyavahārājñānārthamēgi. S.D. sūtra - 11.

the chapter on syntax will be formed.

On whatever the level we are giving the treatment of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa, first Kēsirēja's views on those topics will be given. This will be done by way of giving the relevant sūtras in a summary form. Then the analysis of the same will be presented. This is being done, the same material will be treated from the modern linguistic point of view. Being afraid of the bulk, I did not include the chapter on the corrupted forms.

#### CHAPTER IV

PHONOLOGY

A) Phonetics<sup>1</sup>

Phonetics was known to ancient Indians as Shikṣa which formed one of the six lores pertaining to the Vedas. (śaḍaṅgas of Vedas).<sup>2</sup> The phonetics of the Vedas can be seen in the Shikṣas. Since śikṣa was a separate branch in ancient India, grammatical literature did not deal with this aspect in detail. Phonetics, therefore, has received limited attention in Śabdamañi Darpaṇa.

Kēśirāja starts with the origin of sound. About the origin of sound he says: 'Due to the favourable air, and with the desire of the individual, the substance of sound originates, at the root of the navel as in a trumpet. It's colour is white.'<sup>3</sup>

In this sūtra, the process of the origin of sound is given. The air flows through a column, and if there is obstruction to the air-column the sound is produced. According to Kēśirāja, the air starts from the root of the navel. This view of Kēśirāja is based not just on

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1 The number of the sūtras is according to the edition of D.L.Narasimhachar - 1964.

2

3 S.D. sūtra - 9.

the importance of the navel in our body, but because it is a fact. There is an organ called 'diaphragm' below the lungs and just above the navel, which is bow-shaped, from where the air originates. From this place, the air is coming through lungs to lips, and beyond for our respiration.

This air is used for the production of sound when the individual desires to produce it. Sounds are of two types : explosives and implosives. These varieties are found in stops only. If the sounds produced are the results of exhaling they are called explosives. And those produced by inhaling are implosives.<sup>4</sup> Kannada sounds are produced only in the process of expelling the air out of the lungs. Kēsīrāja uses the term 'jīvanīṣṭadīm' in this context. The air coming from the diaphragm, becomes sound when the individual so desires. There are many impediments in the process. It is an observed fact that speech sound can not be produced if the organs are defective. Kēsīrāja, therefore, says there should be favourable air for producing sound. The poet Kēsīrāja gives a fine simile here. The sound is like a trumpet blow. The trumpet and air both make sound. But the simile does not stop here. The trumpet is narrow at the root, and wide at the end. Similar is the phenomenon

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4 H.A.Gleason, p.249.

observed in the air that is producing speech sound. According to Kēsīrāja, sound is a substance, and its colour 'white'. Though these matters are philosophical and quasi-philosophical problems, since Kēsīrāja repeats them twice, they can not be ignored. In Jainism, Saraswati is called Dhavalē (white). Saraswati is the Goddess of language. Hence, the words which constitute language also come to be white, and the sound material which is responsible for words, is too, came to be known as white in colour.<sup>5</sup>

Sūtra in question says the birth of the sound-matter ('śabda-dravya) due to pavana and jīva (soul)'s iṣṭa-desire and the 'śabda dravya's result and function is the audibility or sound manifestation.

The next sūtra about phonetics is: 'The body is a drum; and the tongue an instrument to beat. Individual soul is the performer. On account of the operation of his mind, sound is produced. It is white in colour and has the form of sound.'<sup>6</sup>

The idea of the points of articulation, the articulator, and also the motivation of sound is suggested here metaphori-

5 For details see Aloka - p.20.

6 S.D. sūtra - 44.

cally. But here the 'body' should mean a portion of the body from diaphragm to lips only. The drum itself cannot produce any sound in the absence of some instrument of beating. Here the tongue is the instrument, which, in league with the place, is responsible for the production of sound. Technically, the instrument is called an articulator. The organs which are responsible for the production of sound are termed 'speech-organs'. Kēsīrāja mentions tongue as the instrument in the production of sound. But it is not the only articulator. It is the prominent articulator which is responsible for the production of majority of sounds. The tongue as an articulator is divided<sup>8</sup> into four parts: dorsum or the back of the tongue, the centre of the tongue, the blade of the tongue and the tip of the tongue. There is a lower-lip<sup>9</sup> which is also an articulator and is responsible for the production of some sounds.

Granting that every organ is alright, still, as already stated, the motivation is also equally important. Only when an individual so desires, the various organs will be useful in the production of sound.

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7 See Allen, p.17.

8 A Course in Modern Linguistics - p.69.

9 Ibid.

This sound has the form of varṇa. We will discuss about the form of the varṇa while dealing with phonemics.

In the next sūtra, the various points of articulation are listed: 'The throat, the root of the tongue, the chest, the palate, the lips, the nose, the head, and the teeth are the eight places where the varṇa are produced.'

'Akṣara' is used as the synonym of 'śabda' which is translated as sound here. The term 'akṣara' is variously used to signify sound and syllable.

To understand and evaluate this sūtra, the whole phenomenon of the production of sounds is to be reviewed. For the production of the sound, the air coming from the lungs and which goes to the lips and beyond, is obstructed. Unless there is some kind of obstruction to the air-passage, no sound can be produced. The channel through which the air is passing is called the speech-tract. The air that is passing through the speech-tract, meets with the obstruction, not in one place, but in many places. Such places which are

10 S.D. sūtra - 40.

11 Present sūtra.

12 S.D. sutra - 20

In this chapter we use 'śabda' for sound, 'varṇa' for letter and akṣara for syllable.

obstructing the air-passage to produce sound are called

<sup>13</sup>  
'points of articulation'. Various organs which are responsible for the production of sound, are situated on the lower and upper sides of the speech-tract. The organs situated on the lower-margin are articulators. <sup>14</sup> These organs are immovable. The organs which are on the upper margin of the speech-tract are termed as the points of articulation. <sup>15</sup> These are immovable. The point of articulation and the articulator <sup>16</sup> together constitute the position of articulation. The various organs which play their part in the production of speech-sounds are:

- |                 |                                |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| 1) Nasal cavity | 2) Lips (lower and upper lips) |
| 3) Teeth        | 4) Alveolar ridge              |
| 5) Palate       | 6) Dome                        |
| 7) Velum        | 8) Uvula                       |
| 9) Tongue       | 10) Velic                      |
| 11) Epiglottis  | 12) Vocal cords                |
| 13) Larynx      | 14) Pharynx                    |

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13 yad upakramyate tat sthānam - See Allen, p.17.

14 A Course in Modern Linguistics - p.69.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

Among the organs listed, following are the points of articulation.

- |                   |                |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1) Upper lip      | 2) Teeth       |
| 3) Alveolar ridge | 4) Soft palate |
| 5) Hard palate    | 6) Velum       |
| 7) Uvula          | 8) Epiglottis  |
| 9) Larynx         | 10) Pharynx    |

The articulators are:

- |                        |                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Lower lip           | 2) tip of the tongue    |
| 3) blade of the tongue | 4) Centre of the tongue |
| 5) back of the tongue  |                         |

In addition to the points of articulation and the articulators, there is also a third factor which contributes in the production of sounds. That is the manner of articulation. The procedure of obstruction of the air coming from the lungs, at various points from the vocal cords to the lips is called manner. Manner will be responsible for many a variation of sounds. Usually, each sound is given a name. Based on the position of articulation, the articulator, the resultant sound, and an example for Kannada, therefore, are given below:

Articulator	Point of articulation	Sound	Example
Lower lip	Upper lip	Labial	P class
Lower lip	Teeth	Labia-dental	W
Tip of the tongue	Teeth	Dental	t class, 17
-do-	Alveolum	Alveolar	s, r
-do-	Palate	Retroflex	t class, 1, 1
Blade of the tongue	hard palate	Palatal	c class
Back of the tongue	velum	Velar	k class
-	-	Glottal	h

There will be many classes of sounds for which manner will be responsible. They are as follows:

1) Stops

Stops are the sounds involving the complete closure of the air column at some point of articulation by some articulator. All the classified sound of Kannada are the stops.

17 Some scholars include sounds of t-class except n in the dental series and only n in the alveolar series.

2) Nasals

For <sup>nasals</sup>the position being the same as for the stops, the passage of the nasal cavity is open. Thus, if air is passing through the nasal cavity, the sounds are nasal stops or nasals, m, n, ñ, ṇ, ṅ are the nasal sounds in Kannada.

3) Fricatives

Instead of the partial closing of the air passage, there is a narrow constriction due to which there will be friction.<sup>18</sup> Kannada s is the fricative sound.

4) Laterals

If the air coming from the lungs is obstructed at a certain point, but the air is allowed to pass through one or both sides of the tongue, the sounds produced are called laterals, l, ḷ, ḹ sounds of Kannada are lateral sounds.

5) Trills

Trills are sounds caused by the rapid vibration of the articulator. ṛ, is the example for trill.

6) Flaps

If there is a single tap by the articulator, the flap is produced. Kannada r is a flap.

7) Affricates

The procedures of both stops and fricatives are seen here. They start with a stop procedure and end in a fricative procedure. c, j are usually affricates.

8) Semi-vowels

Semi-vowels are in between the fricative sounds and closed vowels. Examples are w and y. The other average sounds also have vocalic quality, that is, intervocalically. They are consonantal. When followed by stops or other consonants they are vocalic. This is the reason why we have sithila dvitva.

All these are consonants. Similarly, there are vowels. There is not much importance of the points of articulation for vowels. Articulator is very important here. The main factors in the classification of the vowel are as follows:<sup>19</sup>  
1) Height of the tongue: i, e etc. (in all seven) are the sounds caused by the variation in the height of the tongue. Varieties here are high, lower high etc. 2) Advancement of the tongue: - Depending upon which part of the tongue (front, central or back) is in action, there will be three varieties.

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i, e etc. are the front sounds, ə (as in the kori - 'black') is the central sound; and u, o, etc. are the back sounds.

Vocal cords will be responsible for many a variation in sounds. While passing the air, if the vocal cords vibrate, 'voice' will be produced. Sounds accompanied by voice were voiced sounds. (e.g., b, d, d, j, g, etc.) While producing a sound, if the vocal cords are silent, the sounds will be voiceless, (e.g., p, t, t, c, k, etc.)

If there is an extra puff of air, while producing the sound, it will be called an aspirated sound (e.g., ph, th, bh, dh etc.). If there is no such extra puff of air, the sounds are called unaspirated (e.g., p, t, b, d, etc.)

With this background, let us consider the points of articulation given by Kēsirāja. Velum (Kañṭha), root of the tongue (jihvāmūla), chest (ura), palate (tālu), lips (ōṣṭha), nose (Nāsika), head (sira) and teeth (danta) are the points of articulation listed by him. Of these eight, the root of the tongue is also an articulator like centre and tip of the tongue. Nose need not be listed in the points. It is true that the nasal sounds are produced in the nasal cavity; but, the points of articulation are in the mouth. About chest, the role of the chest is important while



producing the sounds. In general, when the sound 'h' is produced, probably Kēsirāja meant that chest also plays a role in articulation of sounds.

The idea of co-articulation is enunciated in the following sūtra: "The letters y, v and l are called nasals<sup>20</sup> as well as non-nasals. The sounds y, v and l are pronounced in two ways: 1) without nasality, and 2) with nasality. Here, the idea of co-articulation is expressed. If a sound is produced, with one position of articulation, it belongs to a single or primary articulation. In addition to one articulation, there may be combined more than one positions of articulation in a particular sound. Such a phenomenon is<sup>21</sup> called double-articulation or co-articulation. The ordinary y, v, and l without any nasal feature belong to the primary articulation, and when nasality is added to them, they are co-articulated sounds.

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20 S.D. sūtra - 26.

21 'It is customary to define a sound by describing only the movement or position of the organs directly involved in its articulation, leaving the concurrent activity of the other organs unspecified; but very often the activity of one or several of these organs has a marked effect on the resulting sound' - Block and Trager - p.29.

The phenomenon of free-variation is found in the gloss on sūtra 39. 'The r of 'maral' also changes to n thus being 'maṇal'. The word 'maṇal' is also pronounced as 'maṇal'. The point to be noted is that whether there is r or n in the word, there is no change in the meaning. Such a phenomenon is free-variation. If two sounds freely-vary in a word without affecting the meaning, it is called free-variation. <sup>22</sup>

B) Phonemics

'Aksara', 'varṇa' and 'suddhākṣara' are synonymous. [Those that can be written, but can not be pronounced are varṇas. For example, the sounds of the clouds etc. are not varṇas.] <sup>23</sup>

There is a difference in explanation of this sūtra even in Kēsirāja's gloss itself. Whereas the sūtra reads 'bare-pambokkuccharisalbāraduvakkaramaltu' etc. The vritti reads 'bareyāyalumuccharisalbāraduvu' etc. The purport is that those that can not be written and cannot be pronounced' are the akṣaras. In this sūtra, Kēsirāja considered 'akṣara' 'varṇa' and 'suddhākṣara' as synonyms, though in different

22 H.A.Gleason, p.262.

23 S.D. sūtra - 12.

places he has used in different meaning.

There is an extensive treatment of these terms in Sanskrit grammars. The interpretation of varṇa in Sanskrit grammars is problematic. Generally, it means sound-unit.<sup>24</sup> Now, akṣara means syllable. Though Kēsirāja has stated in this sūtra that 'akṣara' and 'varṇa' are synonyms, it appears that he is aware of the distinction between akṣara and varṇa, though not clear to define the terms in śabda-maṇi Darpaṇa.

What is 'Suddhākṣara' then? What is the meaning of 'suddha' here? One view of 'suddhākṣara' is that it is non-nasal sound.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps, that is the meaning intended here.<sup>26</sup> 'Suddhākṣara' and 'suddhage', according to Kēsirāja seems to be the basic sound units, because he says 47 'suddhage' are there for Kannada.

24 'While it there has much in common with the modern term 'phoneme', no phonemic theory is implied by it, and it would be reading at once too much and too little into the term thus to translate it'. See Allen, p.15.

25 'The term anuṇāsika is used, as opposed to the 'suddha or pure non-nasalised vowels', see Allen, p.14.

26 Kēsirāja while listing the Kannada varṇas says that y, w, and l are both anuṇāsika and nira-puṇāsika, but does not include the nasal sounds in the suddhage.

The modern definition of the syllable is: 'syllable is a principle phonological term for grouping of consonants and vowels with the status of a unit.<sup>27</sup> It is the attachment of the consonants to the vocalic nuclei. Every syllable consists of one peak of sonority; and the vowel is that peak. Hence, either a vowel alone, or a vowel with consonant,<sup>28</sup> constitute a syllable. Then how does this akṣara which is a unit with a vowel and consonant, came to be considered as a synonym for a 'varṇa'? Firstly, as the vowel is the nucleus of the syllable, there are as many syllables as there are vowels, so much so that the akṣara itself was likely to have been confused with the vowel. Secondly the orthography, the writing system of Kannada is a mixture of phonemic and syllabic system. Basically,<sup>29</sup> it is a phonemic system where every sound is given a symbol. So, all the letters from a to ḷ have symbols based on the sounds. But, in the Kāṇḍita - the combination of consonants and vowels (e.g., ka, kā, ki, etc.) also each

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27 R.H.Robins, p.137.

28 saṁvājanah saṁsvārah 'uddho vāpi svarō 'akṣaram' - RP. XVIII. 32. See Allen, p.29.

29 In a phonemic writing system, graphic shapes are assigned, in an arbitrary fashion, to the phonemes. (phonemic system) or to some sort of recurrent combinations of phonemes (syllables). Hockett - p.540.

unit has the symbol. In actual usage, it is these combinations that are more. These combinations are syllables and each syllable has a symbol in such a system. Hence the syllable also was confused as the basic unit. As 'varṇa' is a basic unit in writing and the syllable also was confused with the same function, partly, they are considered as synonyms. Akṣara is also used in the sense of a syllable by Kēsirāja himself.<sup>30</sup>

To know the concept of 'varṇa' in the sūtra, we have to understand the modern concept of phoneme.<sup>31</sup> To begin with, the phonemē has two characteristics:

- 1) Phonemes are the part of the system of one specific language; they are the features of the structure of a particular language. Hence, phonemes of different languages are different.
- 2) Phonemes are the features of a spoken language. That is, they are the units of the spoken language, as opposed to the written language, which is having its own unit viz., grapheme. This feature is important for our purpose,

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30 S.D. sūtra - 26.

31 H.A. Gleason, p.9.

because we are studying the written work.

Phoneme is a minimum unit of expression, the function of which is to keep two utterances apart. If we take two words 'kudi' and 'gudi', one can observe that each word has four units viz., k, u, d, i and g, u, d, i. Of these, three units are the same for both words, and in one place there is a difference. In 'kudi' there is k, and 'gudi' it is g. Because of the difference of these sounds, two words are created. Hence, we can say that the sounds k and g are having significant behaviour and are called the phonemes.

Another definition of the phoneme is that it is a class of sounds. Phoneme is not just one sound, but a bundle of many sounds. For example, take three words, kivi, kannu, and kudi. The sound k in these words though appears to be the same for ordinary person, is different in each word. K in kivi is slightly fronted (pre-velar), k in kudi is slightly back (post-velar), and k in kannu is between the two (medio-velar). But, while phonemizing, we take only k, and consider others as the positional variants. Hence, the phoneme /k/ here is a bundle of three sounds.

There are also more important sounds which contribute to make a phoneme. Consider the nasal sounds of Kannada, viz., n, ñ and ñ. It can be observed that all the three sounds occur in a particular context of their own. If the sounds have a definite environment, they are not important. Here, n occurs before dental stops, ñ before palatal stops and ñ before velar stops. That means, each of these sounds is having its own environment which is exclusively of its own. One sound will never occur where the other occurs. Such a phenomenon is called mutually exclusive environment or complementary distribution. In such a case, one of these sounds which is more widely used, may be taken as the representative of the class, and the rest may be considered the sub-members. Here /n/ is the phoneme and n, ñ and ñ are the sub-members of it. The purport of this is: though we write /n/ a phoneme, in the place of ñ and ñ sounds, still the pronunciation will be the same.

Now the difference between the varṇa and a phoneme can be attempted. As shown above, n, ñ and ñ are the varṇas, but only n is a phoneme.

The discussion of the phoneme so far, leads us to conclude that sound is the basic material for the language. Language is the combinations of sounds with meaning. But,

sound is produced by many bodies. If the table is hit, particular sound is produced; rumblings of the trees also produce a sound; the cloud produces sound. But, all these are not germane to the language. Only those sounds which are produced by the human vocal organs are useful to the language. There too, the sounds of cough, sneeze etc. are out of question. Excepting these, all the sounds produced by the human organs are important. Hence, the rumblings of the trees, sounds of the clouds etc. are not varṇas. The definition of the varṇas given in the sūtra is of negative nature. It says what are not varṇas, rather than what varṇas are.

Incidentally, a question may be asked here: whether Kēsirāja had any idea about something like the concept of phoneme? The question may appear out of place, as the concept of phoneme is modern one, and Kēsirāja belongs to an ancient era. How can he know the concept of the present times?

In every science there are certain concepts, processes etc. to explain the science. And the grammar which was a much respected science in the ancient India, had its own concepts and processes. As the knowledge advances, some of the old concepts and processes may be reinterpreted or some

times new ones may be stated.

A notable feature of our ancient grammars (including Pāṇini) is that they do not state and explain the processes that are responsible for particular results. Kēśirāja is no exception to this. In this situation, what is left for us is to guess the processes on the basis of the results. Let us try this with regard to the phoneme.

Kēśirāja in the sūtra 28 says: "If 'r' is pronounced with more force 'ṛ' is produced; 'ḍ' pronounced with more force gives rise to 'ḷ' of Kannaḍa, known as kuḷa...." 7

more	-	more	mare	-	mare
kale	-	keḷe	mole	-	moḷe

In setting up the phonemes, the most important step is the minimal pair. If there is a minimum of contrast between two words, it is called minimal pair. The two sounds which contrast in that pair, are two phonemes. The examples given above viz., kuḍi and guḍi constitute a minimal pair, and the sounds k and g are separate phonemes. What about more - more, mole - mole etc. ? Are they not minimal pairs ? Kēśirāja gives these examples to prove that r and ṛ and l and ḷ are separate varṇas. Examples given for this point are perfect minimal pairs. It appears, on the basis of the

above, that some idea of the phoneme (though crudely) was known to Kēsirāja.

"The letter has got sound and form. When it is heard, it is called Śrāvana. When the letter is seen in its different forms, it is known as Cākṣuṣa." <sup>33</sup>

The sound has two forms. That which is of the form of sound and is the subject of the ear, is called auditory (śrāvana). Visual (cākṣuṣa) is that sound which, due to the difference of orthography, is of many forms. This view is found since ancient times.

Of the two, the auditory aspect of the sound is having, ordinarily, the same form. It is not to deny the difference in the pronunciation of the same sound. If different people, say males, females, children, old people etc., pronounce the same word, there will be difference in the pronunciation of a sound in the word. Even if a single individual pronounces a particular sound many times, there will be variation. But, for the people who are concentrating on the import of the statement, and not the sound of it, the difference is not noticeable. Hence, the sound appears to be the same. Hence

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the auditory aspect of the sound is to have only one form.

But the case with the visual aspect of the sound is different. We give a particular symbol for a particular sound. (It applies only to the languages having a writing system. Ancient grammarians considered only the languages which are written.) The various symbols for the sound, used in a particular language constitute the orthographic system of that language. As sounds of different languages are different, similarly the written symbols also are different. The symbol for a particular sound in Kannada is ಅ in Hindi अ and in English a. Hence, the visual aspect of the sound is of various forms.

In the next sūtra the sounds in the orthography are given: 'The order of the varṇas is well-known. The varṇas<sup>34</sup> are from a to 1."

The order of the varṇas in the inventory which is known to everybody, is of Sanskrit, though it is not stated so. He gives the following order of the alphabet.

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e ā i ī u ū ṛi ṛī lṛi lṛī ē ai ō au

k	kh	g	gh	ṅ
c	ch	j	jh	ñ
ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ
t	th	d	dh	n
p	ph	b	bh	m
y	r	l	w	
ṣ	ṣ	s	h	ḷ

These letters enumerated above are classified into five categories: "All the letters are divided into five kinds viz., vowels, classified sounds, unclassified sounds, yōgavāha<sup>35</sup> sounds and dēsiya sounds (indigenous to Kannada language)".

Kēsirāja has classified all the varṇas in the Kannada alphabet into 1) vowels, 2) classified sounds, 3) unclassified sounds, 4) yōgavāhas and 5) sounds indigenous to Kannada.

The whole range of sounds mentioned here may be divided into two viz., 1) vowels and 2) consonants. And among the consonants 1) classified consonants, and 2) unclassified consonants. Yōgavāhas too are included in the alphabet. Both vowels and consonants are seen in the list of indigenous sounds.

Now the meaning of 'svara' (vowel) and vyañjana (consonant) may be considered.

According to the ancient Sanskrit grammarians 'svara'<sup>36</sup> is independent entity and 'vyañjana' is dependent. It is really a moot question to decide the nature of svara and vyanjana. According to Patanjali<sup>37</sup> 'svara' is sva-ra 'self-ruling'. That is, it is having independent existence. Uvata derives the word Vyañjana from vi-añj- 'to manifest' and explains that the consonants are so called because 'they<sup>38</sup> manifest the meanings'. But, we can not say that consonant has no existence at all. The time specified by our grammarians for the pronunciation of vowel and a consonant proves the existence of them. For the pronunciation of a vowel one mora is required, while for the pronunciation of the consonant half a mora is required. Usually, vowel forms the nucleus of the syllable. But, even a consonant, if pronounced with sufficient prominence, may become an independent syllable, as the basis of syllable is prominence. र, र̄, ल, ल̄ of Sanskrit. This means that consonant is not absolutely dependent on vowel, according to Indian grammarians. Yet, 'consonants

36 sāpekṣaṁ svarastu nirapetṣaḥ - I. p.XXI. 1.

37 svayaṁ vājante svarāḥ - on Pāṇini - p.206.

38 R.P. 1.6. See Allen, p.81.

are like pearls in a necklace, but the thread which supports  
them is 'the vowels.'<sup>39</sup>

Now, let us consider the modern linguistic concept of vowel and a consonant. Generally, vowel is used as an equivalent of 'svara' and the consonant of the 'vyañjana'. The definition of a vowel according to the modern concept is: "Vowels are modification of voice-sound that involve no closure, friction or contact of the tongue or lips".<sup>40</sup>

The definition of the consonant is: 'consonant is a sound for whose production the air-current is completely stopped by an occlusion of the larynx or the oral passage, or is forced to squeeze through a narrow constriction, or is deflected from the medium line of its channel through a lateral opening or causes one of the supra-glottal organs to vibrate'.<sup>41</sup>

Put in simple words, the sound which is produced without any obstruction to the air current is a vowel: and if there is any obstruction anywhere in the mouth, the resultant sound is called the consonant.

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39 See Siddheshwar Varma, p.55.

40 Bloomfield, p.

41 Bloch and Tragger, p.18.

.As to the point whether vowel and consonant are equivalents of 'svara' and 'vyañjana' Dr.Siddhesvara Varma says:<sup>42</sup>  
"It seems to me probable that the Indian terms 'svara' and 'vyañjana' did not exactly correspond to the vowel and consonant of modern phonetics. The Indian term may have denoted 'a syllabic sound' and 'non-syllabic sound' respectively. For the essential difference between svara and vyañjana lay in their relative dependence. The svara was said to be 'self-dependent'. While the vyañjana (literal meaning 'manifested by another' 'accessory') was dependent upon the svara."<sup>43</sup>

This point is realized by the modern linguistics also. Hence, at least, some scholars do not use the terms vowel and consonant, but use 'vocoides' and 'contoides' instead. Those which are vowel-like are vocoides, and those which are consonant-like are contoides.<sup>44</sup> But, the terms vocoides and contoides are used on a phonetic level, and vowel and consonant on a phonemic level.<sup>45</sup> Any vowel or consonant which can become a syllable is a vocoid, and others are contoides.

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42 Dr.Siddhesvara Varma, p.57.

43 O.F.Hockett, p.67.

44 'Use of terms 'vocoid' and 'contoid' enables us to reserve the terms 'vowel' and 'consonant' as labels for structurally defined classes of phonemes in specific languages. See Hockett, p.67.

45 Pike -

That means we can use the terms vowel and consonant as equivalents of svara and vyañjana in this section where we are dealing with the phonemics of Kannada.

Now, consonants are, usually, divided into 1) classified (vargīya) and 2) unclassified (avargīya). In the classified category, there are twenty-five consonants beginning from k and ending in m of our alphabet. What is the basis for such a classification? A point that can be observed about the classified letters, at the outset, is that they are all stops, including the nasal stops. All these stops are having a well-defined principle of classification. There are two such principles viz., 1) points of articulation and 2) manner of articulation. According to the first principle, viz., points of articulation, there are five points of articulation involved in these consonants. They are: 1) velum, 2) palate, 3) top of the oral cavity, 4) teeth, and 5) lips. Accordingly, there will be 1) velar, 2) palatal, 3) retroflex, 4) dental and 5) labial sounds. Each of these categories has five consonants:

1) velar:	k	kh	g	gh	ṅ
2) palatal:	c	ch	j	jh	ñ
3) retroflex:	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ
4) dental:	t	th	d	dh	n
5) labial:	p	ph	b	bh	m

Second principle viz., the manner of articulation is responsible for the voiced, aspirated and nasal varieties. So, from top to bottom these consonants are arranged on the basis of the points of articulation, and from left to right, they are arranged on the basis of the manner of articulation. In each case there are five members. Hence, a well-defined classification is found in these consonants. Therefore, they can be termed as classified consonants. Usually, the first member of each class, represents the whole class. For example, k-varga which represent k, kh, g, gh, ṅ and so on.

As against these classified sounds no such arrangement is seen in the nine consonants listed as unclassified (avar-giya). Among the nine consonants, many categories can be seen. Y and w are semi-vowels, r is atrill, l and ḷ are laterals, ṣ, ś and s are fricatives, and h is a glottal fricative. These can not be arranged in a systematic way like the classified letters. Even modern linguists have the sounds termed  
46  
'left-overs'.

47

About yōgavāha, yogavahas are called dependent sounds.

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46 After enumerating the well-arranged consonant, the left-overs of which do not fit in any arrangement are listed - Manual of Phonology - Hockett, p.109.

47 anusvāro visargasca ska-spau cāpi parāśrayau.  
P.S. 5 See Allen, p.16.

These yōgavāhas are not included in the inventory of letters by Pāṇini. All these four dependent sounds are having a very limited occurrence. In Sanskrit grammatical works five yōgavāha sounds are listed: viz., 1) -ḥ-visarga, 2) -o anusvāra, 3) -x jivhāmūtiya, 4) Ø-upadhmānīya and 5) the faucal plosives (yama). But all the Sanskrit grammarians are not unanimous in the use of terminology. While some use yōgavāha, others like Pāṇini use the term ayōgavāha. Ayōgavāha literally means 'drawing unyoked'. Patanjali explains the term as "because they draw unyoked i.e. are heard though not mentioned (i.e. though not included in the Pāṇiniyan varṇa samuccaya)".<sup>48</sup> It is the Kannada grammarians who used the term Yōgavāha,<sup>49</sup> appropriately so, instead of ayōgavāha. All these dependent sounds share the place of articulation of the sounds whereon they depend.

Then Kēsirāja talks about the letters peculiar to Kannada language. It may appear strange that when he is writing a Kannada grammar, what made him to talk of some letters as peculiar to Kannada. The reason is: the framework of his alphabetical system is taken from Sanskrit. He lists the

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48 Katham punar ayogavāhaḥ: yad ayuktā vahanty anupa-  
diṣṭās ca srūyante - Mahābhāṣya - 1.1.2. See Allen,  
p. 17.

49 Allen, p.17. f.n.4.

Sanskrit alphabets and adds to the list the letters peculiar to Kannada language. Such letters are five in number. They are ṛ, ḷ, ḹ, e, o.

After the classification of the sounds, Kēsīrāja gives the details of them in sūtra viz., "There are fourteen vowels, twenty five classified letters, nine unclassified letters and four dependent letters in the alphabet. Thus, the total letters come to fifty-two.<sup>50</sup>"

In the previous sūtra Kēsīrāja had classified the sounds into five kinds. Now, he enumerates the various letters in each of the five kinds. The whole list, presented in a tabular form, will be as follows:

Vowels	-	14
Classified letters	-	25
Unclassified letters	-	9
Yōgavāha	-	4
		<hr/>
		52

After the classification of the sounds, Kēsīrāja lists the varṇas of Kannada language in the following sūtra: 'There are five dēsiya sounds in Kannada. These five along with the previously mentioned fifty-two come to fifty-seven sounds.'

Out of these sounds, the ten sounds  $\dot{r}i$ ,  $\dot{r}\bar{i}$ ,  $l\dot{r}i$ ,  $l\dot{r}\bar{i}$ ,  $\dot{s}$ ,  $\dot{s}:$  (visarga),  $x_j$  (jihvāmūlīya),  $\dot{s}$  (upadhmaniya), and  $l$  (kṣala) are not in Kannada. So, when these are deducted, we get <sup>51</sup> forty-seven sounds which are in pure Kannada.'

The sounds given in the sūtra may be tabulated as follows:

Vowels	-	14
Classified consonants	-	25
Unclassified consonants	-	9
Yōgavāhas	-	4
Add five sounds peculiar to Kannada		5
Total		57
Deduct ten letters peculiar to Sanskrit	-	10
		47

The fourteen vowels are:  $a$   $\bar{a}$   $i$   $\bar{i}$   $u$   $\bar{u}$   $\dot{r}i$   $\dot{r}\bar{i}$   $l\dot{r}i$   $l\dot{r}\bar{i}$   $\bar{e}$   $ai$   $\bar{o}$   $au$ .

Twentyfive classified consonants are:

k	kh	g	gh	$\dot{n}$
c	ch	j	jh	$\dot{n}$
$\dot{t}$	$\dot{t}h$	$\dot{d}$	$\dot{d}h$	$\dot{n}$
t	th	d	dh	n
p	ph	b	bh	m

Nine unclassified consonants are:

y, r, l, w, s, ṣ, ś, h, ḷ.

Ṡ (anusvāra), Ṡ (visarga), x<sub>g</sub> (jihvāmūliya),  
ṡ (upadhmaniya).

Five sounds peculiar to Kannada are:

ṛ, ḷ, ḷ, e, o.

Ten sounds peculiar to Sanskrit are:

ṛi, ṛī, ḷṛi, ḷṛī, ṣ, ṣ, ḡ, x<sub>g</sub>, ṡ, ḷ (kaṣaḍa).

Thus, forty-seven is the inventory of Kannada varṇas, according to the sūtras. Really, Kēsīrāja has followed a very cumbersome method in listing the Kannada varṇas. He first mentions forty-two varṇas supposed to be common both for Sanskrit and Kannada; when he adds five varṇas which are exclusive to Kannada structure; and finally deducts ten sounds found only in Sanskrit. Instead, he would have said there are forty-seven sounds for Kannada and listed them. He was forced to this gymnastics as he had started with Sanskrit system instead of Kannada.

In this sūtra and the previously mentioned one, Kēsīrāja mentions five sounds as peculiar to Kannada. Among these five, there are two vowels viz., e and o. He had to mention

these separately, as the list given is of Sanskrit, where there are only the long varieties, whereas in Kannada both short (e, o) and long (ē, ō) varieties are found.

(More details about these vowels and r, l, ḷ will be given presently when dealing with vowels and consonants.)

Among the ten sounds peculiar to Sanskrit, i.e. not found in Kannada four are vowels, viz., ri, ṛi, ḷ and ḻ and six consonants, viz., s, ṣ, ś, z, ḥ, and ḷ (ksala). About the four vowels it can be said that ḷ and ḻ are never found in any of the words whether in modern Kannada or old Kannada. Hence, there is no question of them using in the Kannada. About, ṛi, it is also never seen in any of the Kannada words any time. But, the case of ri is slightly different from those mentioned. There are many words which contain ri. For example, in the words like ritu, rina, rita, etc. ri appears to be there. There is no question of ri being there in Sanskrit words. But these words in Kannada have different pronunciation. The pronunciation of these words in Kannada is like rutu, runa, ruta etc. That is, wherein Sanskrit ri is a vocalic consonant with a high unrounded central vowel-like pronunciation at the end, in Kannada, it is clearly consonantal vowel. This vowel may be sometimes i (high front unrounded) or sometimes u (high

back rounded). For example, along with the words, ruṣi, ruṇa, rutu etc., the words risi, riṇa, prithivi etc. are also found. Whatever the vowel that is found, the pronunciation of ri in Kannada is ru vowel. Hence, this vowel is also not necessary for Kannada language.<sup>52</sup>

The letters ṣ and ṣ̣ are peculiar to Sanskrit i.e. they are not in Kannada language. The letter ṣ is not found in any of the Dravidian languages including Kannada. In Kannada the non existence of ṣ was noticed. And this point is especially noticeable in the corrupted words from Sanskrit. Where in Sanskrit there is ṣ, Kannada has s for it.<sup>53</sup> For example,

Ṣasi(ṣkt) - Sasi (kan). Ṣaṅke (ṣkt) - Saṅke (Kan)  
Kaḷaṣam (Ṣkt) - Kaḷasam (Kan), Sūlam (Ṣkt) - Sūlam (Kan)

Ṣ is still rarer. It also is not found in any of the Dravidian languages. No grammarian of Kannada has included it in the Kannada alphabet. Like ṣ, ṣ̣ also has been proved to be not there in Kannada on the strength of the borrowings from Sanskrit. Kēsirāja states that for Sanskrit ṣ̣, there

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52 It is so obvious that these vowels are not in Kannada. Still it is strange even then they have found a place in Kannada orthography.

53 S.D. sūtra - 267.

54  
will be s in Kannada. For example, (Skt) bhāṣe (Kan), bāṣe  
(Skt) vēṣam (Kan), vēsam (Skt), viṣam (Kan), viṣam (Skt),  
varṣam (Kan), varṣam (Skt). Hence, these two sounds are not.  
55  
found in Kannada.

As Kēsirāja has clearly excludes visarga, jīhvāmūliya  
and upadhmāniya from the list, we can easily omit them.  
All these three occur only in Sanskrit words. For example,

rāmah	dēvah	(visarga)
Prātaḥkāla		(jīhvāmūliya)
Payahpanam		(upadhmāniya)

About kṣaṭṭha, we will deal with it exhaustively while  
dealing with consonants.

After giving all the sounds, their division etc.,  
Kēsirāja now starts the treatment of vowels. The sūtra is:  
'There are fourteen vowels beginning with a. The first ten  
vowels are monophthongs (samānam), of which each pair is of  
the same class - a homogen - (savarṇam), irrespective of  
56  
the order.'

54 S.D. sūtra - 267.

55 But in modern Kannada in the educated speech, the  
pronunciation of s is noticed sometimes. For example,  
the pronunciation of the words aṣṭu, iṣṭu etc.

56 S.D. sūtra - 16.

The sounds from a to au are called vowels. Among these, the first ten viz., a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛi, ṛī, ḷi, ḷī - these ten vowels are called monophthongs(samānam). Again, among these ten monophthongal vowels, the units of two serially (e.g., a, ā and so on), whether they are read according to the regular or reverse order (e.g., a, ā or ā, a and so on) are termed as ho<sup>mo</sup>gen(savarṇa).

After the plain listing of the vowels, Kēsīrāja in this sūtra has used some technical jugglary. But they are not going to add anything. The two technical terms used are 'samāna' and 'savarṇa'. These technical terms are taken from the Kātantra grammar.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, he has used two more terms viz., anuoma (regular order), viloma (reverse order). It is very difficult to say why Kēsīrāja has used these terms. Only explanation may be: as he was following the Kātantra grammar closely, he has used the terms therein without considering their viability for the Kannada language.

The same idea is continued in the next sūtra. 'Among the pairs, if a short vowel is followed by a short vowel and long vowel is followed by a long vowel, a homogen takes place'.<sup>58</sup>

57 See Ālōka - p.37.

58 S.D. sūtra - 17.

Among the five pairs of these homogen, whether you read a short vowel after a short vowel, or long vowel after a long vowel, they get the term of a homogen. In continuation with the idea in the previous sūtra, viz., of regular order and reverse orders, in this sūtra he states that two short vowels or two long vowels, of the homogen also can come. For example, the short vowels like a a or two long vowels ā ā can come.

So far Kēsirāja has listed the vowels from a to lrī as savarnas. In the next sūtra, he states that e, ē and o, ō also are homogens. 'The vowels e ē o ō are inherent in Kannada. They are homogens also. They are technically<sup>59</sup> called varṇa in grammar'.

Kēsirāja's note on this sūtra is: The pair of letters e ē o ō are not only used as particles (nipāta) to express doubt (visankā) and emphasis (avadhārṇa), but are also found to be inherent in Kannada. For them also the term savarṇa is possible. In grammar savarṇa is also called varṇa.

ele (leaf), elavam (silk-cotton tree)

ēri (a raised bank), ētaṁ (a picotter)

okkal (a tenant), oregal (a touch-stone)

ōtaṁ (reading), ōrage (equality)

So far Kēsirāja was dealing with the Sanskrit alphabet. Now, he turns to the Kannada letters. The letters e ē and o ō are natural to Kannada. So far he had listed only ē and ō among the vowels which alone are found in Sanskrit. But now gives the short counterparts of these viz., e and o. He has noticed the fact that both these vowels form the words in Kannada. The examples given here (e.g. ele, ēri etc.) are to show that short and long vowels both have distinct occurrence in Kannada. Hence, they can be given the status of varṇa. We have already described the method of establishing phonemes on the basis of minimal pairs. These are not minimal pairs; not even sub-minimal pairs. But, they are not a must any way. He has listed e and o in a separate sūtra because other vowels found in the Sanskrit alphabet are also there in Kannada. Hence, there is no necessity of listing them. Because Sanskrit alphabet does not contain short varieties e and o it was necessitated to list them.

Kēsirāja has used, though not very precisely, varṇa as an equivalent of savarṇa. The varṇa (varṇaveṇba saṅje) can be there (odavugum) even for savarṇa (savarṇaveṇba saṅje yalliyum). Usually, we say a-kāra, i-kāra etc. But in the place of kāra here the term varṇa is not used. If the term a-varṇa, i-varṇa etc. is used, it implies a, ā and i, ī (savarṇas). Of course, such a phenomenon can be seen in a



limited environment.

In the next sūtra the idea of short and long vowels is clarified. 'The preceding letters of the monophthongs (samāna) are short and the following letters are long. The vowels except a <sup>60</sup>ā are called 'nāmis'.

The vowels which are called samāna (monophthongs) are ten. They are: a ā i ī u ū ṛi ṛī ṛi ṛī. The first letters of these ten are called short vowels. But, according to Kēsirāja's own delineation, there is no regular order for these samānas. Either first one may come next (a, ā) or second one may come first (ā, a). Hence, there is no order specifying the short vowel as the first member of the samānas. Instead, we can take five pairs of these ten samānas. Then it will be all right to take the first member as the short vowel. Then there will be five short vowels viz., a, i, u, ṛi, ṛi. And the five second members will be long ones. They are: ā, ī, ū, ṛī, ṛī. All this (unnecessary?) technicality is because of his imitation of Sanskrit grammar apishly.

Similar is the situation with e and o (ē ō eṁbuvimī teradol vartisuṣuvu' - gloss). The first one is the short

one (e and o) and the second long (ē and ō). But why is it that in the sūtra Kēsirāja included only ten homogens and left out these four ? Is it that still he wants to maintain the chastity of the system (of course, Sanskrit) and considers e and o as additions ?

Then there is one more technical term introduced which is, also, not for any purpose. That is nāmi. All the vowels excepting a, ā, i.e., i, ī, u, ū, ri, rī, lri, lṛī, ē, ai, o, au are nāmis.

In the next sūtra, he talks of the remaining vowels: 'The dipthongs like ē are by their nature guru and long. Short letter has single mātra; long letter has double mātra; pluta has three mātras'.

The dipthongs ē, ai, ō, au are by their nature guru and long. The time required for pronouncing each vowel is given. The dipthongs mentioned here are those found in Sanskrit. a - i yields ē; a ē yields ai; a u yields ō; and a ō yields au. The example are: for

a - i - ē	=	nija + iṣṭasiddhi	-	nijēṣṭasiddhi
a - e - ai	=	saṁastā + ēkāksaram	-	saṁastai kāksaram
a - u - ō	=	vidita + ubhaya	-	viditōbhaya
a - ō - au	=	vidita + okeram	-	viṭaukēram

Kēsirāja adds a note on this viz., there are inherent in Kannada, dipthongs like ēkāra which are guru, long and having gudhasandi. These letters are ē, ai, ō, au.

In this sūtra, Kēsirāja gives quantitative division of the vowels. Basis for such a division is duration of time. A vowel which has one mora (mātra) is a short vowel; that which has two moras is a long vowel; and the vowel with three moras is protracted (pluta) vowel. How to measure this mora? According to him a time taken for pronouncing the consonant is  $\frac{1}{2}$  mora. Twice as long is required for the pronunciation of a vowel i.e., 1 mora is required. If time taken for pronouncing a vowel is two, moras, it is called long vowel. For the protracted vowel, three moras<sup>61</sup> is required. It is all right for short and long vowels. But what about protracted (pluta) vowels. Three mātras is the duration required for it. But its occurrence is very rare. It is the over-lengthening of the final vowel of a word or a phrase and is used in cases of questioning, for calling a distant person etc. It may be noted that pluta never occurs in the middle of the word. The context is so

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61 mātra hrasvah; dve dirghah; tisrah pluta ucyate svarah-  
R.P. 1.55.58. See Allen, p.83.

62  
rare that it occurs only three times in the whole of R̥gveda.  
Hence, except for technical purposes, it has no value.

Mātra concept as far as it relates to consonant has no justification. It may give a general idea of relative duration; but not a phonetic basis.

According to Kēsirāja ē, ai, ō, au are guru (heavy) and long. Short one is called laghu (light) long one(heavy). Here, obviously, he has mixed up two different levels. He has also extended the concept of moras to prosody, which has led to much confusion.

As we have already seen, the concept of duration in terms of moras applies to vowel. And vowel forms the nucleus of a syllable. It is so important in the syllable that sometimes syllable is called vowel.<sup>63</sup> This has led to the confusion of the identification of different branches. These two divisions must be kept clearly apart. The division into short (brasva) and long (dīrgha) is confined to

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62 See Allen, p.84.

63 One result of this phonological interdependence of syllable and vowel is that the term aksara is frequently extended to mean vowel - Mahabhāṣya - 1.1.2 See Allen, p.80.

vowels on the phonetic level. The division into light (laghu) and heavy (guru) are to be constructed with syllable in prosody.<sup>64</sup> And in prosody, it is not the vowel (whether short or long) that is important but the syllable which is of importance. The terms light and heavy refer to the quantity of the syllable for metrical purposes. For the metrical purposes, we have to<sup>65</sup> know the rules of syllabic quality.

a) For guru (heavy):

- 1) (A syllable containing) a long vowel (including the nasalized vowel) is guru.
- 2) (A syllable containing) a short vowel followed by a consonant group or by a final consonant in pause is guru.

b) For laghu (light):

- 1) (A syllable containing) a short vowel not followed by a consonant group is laghu.

A final short vowel may be lengthened. Hence, it forms a heavy syllable.

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64 'The description in terms between the difference of long and short in vowel-sound and that of heavy and light in syllable-construction is valuable and should be observed'. - Sanskrit Grammar - Whitney.

65 Allen, p.85. See also Siddheshwar Varma, p.91.

In the light and heavy syllables also, there are further gradations. For example, (A syllable containing) a long vowel is heavy; and heavier if accompanied by a consonant; (a syllable containing) a short vowel with a (preceding) consonant<sup>66</sup> is light; and lighter without a consonant. Even then, their designation will be only heavy and light.

The above discussion implies that the syllabic division is an important factor in deciding the heavy and light syllables. Let us take some representative examples for explaining the idea of syllabic boundary. The Kannada words, ā, ī, bā, tā, kal, kāl, hālu, anna, hambala and so on. The fundamental basis of syllable is a vowel. There will be as many syllables as there are vowels. Hence, ā, ī, bā, tā, kal, kāl are mono-syllabic. Hālu, anna are having two syllables and hambala three syllables. The real question lies in the words with more than one syllable and the question is that of fixing the syllabic boundary. Hālu has two syllables, viz., hā and lu. anna is having two syllables, viz., an and na. (The rule is the first member of the word-medial double consonant goes with the previous vowel and the second consonant goes with following vowel). In hambala there are three.<sup>67</sup> ham, ba, and la. Now, according to the rules of guru and

66 R.P. XVIII 41-44. See Allen, p.86.

67 The discussion on syllabic division. See Siddheshwar Varma, p.61.

laghu discussed above, ē, ī, bā, tā, kāl, hā, kal, an, ham are heavy syllables; and lu, na, ba and la are light syllables.

ē, ai, ō and au are termed as diphthongs by Kēśirāja. Before considering the question as to whether diphthongs are there in Kannada or not, let us present the concept of diphthongs in Sanskrit, which has formed the basis for our grammarians. The term for diphthongs is 'sandhyākṣara' in Sanskrit. The term sandhyākṣara is found in Kātantra Vyākaraṇa. In Pāṇini the terms guṇa and vṛddhi are found. ē and ō (including a) are termed as 'guṇa', and ai and au (including a) are vṛddhi.<sup>68</sup>

What is diphthong? Diphthong<sup>h</sup> has two aspects: 1) phonetic and 2) phonemic. In phonetic aspect, diphthong is defined according to its pronunciation. As per this view,<sup>69</sup> diphthong has the pronunciation of more than one vowel. In

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68 A distinction is made between pluta and vṛddha vowel. So, when a short vowel becomes pluta, it was aptly called 'pluta' ('having jumped' - from plu - 'to jump') owing to the abrupt change that it underwent. But, when a long vowel becomes pluta, it was called only vṛddha ("increased") the change being comparatively graduated. Siddheshwara Varma, p.180.

69 Diphthongs may be considered as vowels in which there is appreciable change of quality during the course of their pronunciation. - Gleason - p.254.

such a case, there is one prominent vowel and the other not a prominent one. This prominent vowel may either be the first member, or the second member. The diphthong with first vowel as prominent is termed the falling diphthong; and the one with prominent second vowel is rising diphthong.<sup>70</sup> According to the ancient works on grammar, there are at least, three pronunciations of the diphthongs.

- 1) In the diphthongs e and o, the 'a' has only half a mora;<sup>71</sup> and in ai and au it has two moras.
- 2) It is not known where a ends and i or u begins, as the two coalesce like milk and water.<sup>72</sup>
- 3) In the pronunciation of e the raising of the middle of the tongue towards the palate is less than in the case of i, owing to the fact that the former is mixed with e.<sup>73</sup>

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70 Ibid. p.255.

71 ardhamaṭrā tu kaṇṭhyasya ekāraukārayor bhavet: aikāraukārayor mātrā. P.S. 13. See Allen, p.63.

72 mātrāyoh samayoh kṣīrodakevat saṁsargāt na jñāyate kvāvarṇa - mātrakva vevārṇaovarnāyor iti - Allen-84.

73 ivaṇe yathā jīhvāmedhyopasamahāro na khalveva ekāre kiṁ tu tato nyūna ityarthah: kutaḥ: akāva-misri-tatvād ekārasya - See Allen, p.64.

Perhaps, this is the reason why Keśirāja uses the term *gudhasandhi*.

According to the phonemic aspect, the diphthong is considered as the sequence of vowels.<sup>74</sup> For example, a - i e; a - u o; a - e ai; a - o au.

The four diphthongs are transcribed as e, o, ai, au. As the transcription suggests, there is no doubt about ai and au being diphthongs. But for e and o the case is not so clear, though they were diphthongs historically.<sup>75</sup> The time required for pluta was three moras, whereas the time required for the diphthongs ai and au was four moras. That is, the second element of ai and au was pluta.<sup>76</sup> But, this suggestion is objected by other grammarians. According to Śākāṭyāna, when ai and au become pluta, both their elements should uniformly increase in quantity.<sup>77</sup> Kātyāyana interprets

74 Diphthongs may be considered as sequences of vowels or of vowels and semi-vowels. Gleason, p.254.

75 Avestan *vaeda* besides Sanskrit *Veda* - See Allen, p.62.

76 Siddheshwar Varma, p.180.

77 Mahābhāṣya, VIII. 2.106. See Siddheshwar Varma, p.180.

78 Ibid.

the pluta of i and u as 'long', and so. According to his opinion, the total moras of pluta diphthongs ai and au would have been three. According to the view of both of these authors, the second element tended to be longer in pluti. There is also a view that the first element should<sup>79</sup> be pronounced as pluta. So, it can be said that there was no unanimity about the quantity of the diphthongs, though the view that the second element was longer, was more in vogue.

The above discussion may be concluded with the statement that whereas the phonological value of e and o was<sup>80</sup> a - i and a - u, that of ai and au was a - i and a - u.

This is all about the nature of diphthongs in Sanskrit. Now, the question is whether those diphthongs exist in Kannada or not. About, ē and ō there is no question, as Kēśirāja has admitted that they are not diphthongs. The evidence for this point is his inclusion in the category of monophthongs (samānas) the short (e, o) and long (ē, ō) counterparts. About ai and au there is a considerable discussion.

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79 Ibid.

80 See Allen, p.63.

There are two aspects of this discussion. One, whether the diphthongs are found in Kannada or not. The answer is, there are no diphthongs.<sup>81</sup> As the word Kaungu is written (of course, the basis for this writing is the pronunciation) as Kavungu, Kaigai as keygey and mai is written mey, according to Kēsirāja etc.

Another point is: if Kēsirāja admits the existence of the diphthongs in Kannada it is not clear why he talks about only two diphthongs viz., ai and au. These are not the only diphthongs, if they are there. To this list we can also add ui and oi which have a similar behaviour. The reason for the exclusion of ui and oi by Kēsirāja is obvious. The reason is: they are not listed in Sanskrit alphabet.

After admitting that there are no diphthongs, what is the pronunciation of ai and au? When it is said that these are not diphthongs it means that the second component of these units was either a full-fledged vowel or a consonant. As, in Kannada two vowels cannot come one after another, it

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- 81 a) For the exhaustive discussion of ai and au See Kannada Varnagalu - Sedyapu Krishnabhatta.  
b) The vowels ai and au do not belong to Kannada - Kaypidi - p.137.  
c) Kannada Bhāṣeya Charitre, p.145.

must be a consonant. And that consonant is y (in ai) and w(au). What remains, now, is the pronunciation of the vowel a. Whether it was a-like or e-like ? Here again, there is no controversy about the pronunciation of a in aw. It is admitted to be a only. But about the quality of a in ay, there is a considerable controversy. Dr. Caldwell says that ai, unlike the Sanskrit diphthong, represents e and i, not a and i.<sup>82</sup> For this, he cites the example of the proto-Dravidian talai represented in Kannada as tale. He also cites Kumārila bhatta to say that he (Kumārila bhatta) evidently considered Dravidian ei nearer e than ai. In old Kannada literature, it is to be noticed that the pronunciation of ai was both ay and aw.<sup>83</sup> So can we say that it was both ay and ey ? Let us see some words. For example,

mai	-	'body';	mey	-	'to graze'
kai	-	'hand';	key(gey)	-	'to do'

In these words, some pattern is to be noticed. The pronunciation of the words meaning 'body' and 'to graze' is different; and similarly, it is different in the words meaning 'hand' and 'to do'. The first words of these pairs is written in Kannada with ai. In the second set, the

82 Caldwell - p.136.

83 For examples, See Kan. Bha. Char. - p.145.

words are written regularly with final consonant, viz., mey, key, etc. It means that there are two sets of words with no relation at all. In the words where consonants are written word-finally, the vowel is e; whereas in the words written with diphthongal written symbol, the pronunciation is a. That means, the pronunciation of 'a' in 'ai' is 'a' only. Then there are other words like Kaidu (kaydu) and aidu (aydu) etc. where we have only a and never e. Hence, the pronunciation of a in ai was a (sometimes e in old Kannada) and not e as is maintained by Dr. Caldwell etc.

Though Kēsīrāja has said that there are fourteen vowels in Kannada, according to his own rules they will be more. These fourteen vowels are divided into seven short, and seven long vowels. But, what about pluta? We have to add seven pluta vowels. Thus, it makes the vowels into twenty-one. Added to this, there will be two diphthongs. So, the number will be twenty-three.<sup>84</sup>

But, the foregoing discussion helps us to establish only ten vowels for Kannada. Because, firstly, the four vowels ri, rī, lri and lrī are not found in Kannada. Secondly, there are no diphthongs ai and au. This reduces

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84 Pandit Pujar says that they are twenty-five - Kannada Varnagalu - p.12.

the vowels to: a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, o, ō. As pluta is not necessary, as discussed, there are no pluta varieties. Hence, there will be ten vowels. This is from the conventional point of view.

This number of vowels i.e. vowel-phonemes can further be reduced. According to modern linguistics, the significant units get the symbol. If a particular unit is found universally in that language, it also may be given a separate symbol. The ten vowels includes five short vowels and five long vowels. It is alright to give symbols for short vowels. But, is it inevitable that the long counterparts also should be given separate symbols ? In Kannada there is a significant variation between short and long vowels in all the instances. Hence, length of the vowel may be indicated by writing it twice. Because consonants also are long, where they can be written twice to indicate length. Moreover, length is neither vocalic nor consonantal. Totally, there will be five vowel - phonemes for Kannada. They may be represented as follows:

/ a i u e o /

### Consonants

We may begin the treatment of the consonants with the sūtra, where consonants are enumerated. 'The consonants are from k to l. The first twenty-five sounds are the classified consonants (varga). The next nine consonants are<sup>85</sup> called the unclassified (avarga)'.

These varnas from k to l are termed as consonants. These are in all 34 in number. The first twentyfive from k to m are called the classified sounds. They are grouped into five classes, each class having five sounds. The whole class is known by the first member of the class e.g. k-varga - means the five sounds. k, kh, g, gh and ñ and so on. These five classes with their members are as follows :

k - class	-	k, kh, g, gh, ñ
c - class	-	c, ch, j, jh, ñ
ṭ - class	-	ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ
t - class	-	t, th, d, dh, n
p - class	-	p, ph, b, bh, m

The basis for this classification is already given (under sūtra No.41).

The nine unclassified sounds are:

y, r, l, w, ṣ, ṣ, ṣ, h, ḷ.

These are called unclassified sounds as there is no principle of arrangement as seen in the classified consonant. Hence, they are listed as unclassified.

After the enumeration of all the consonants, the particular treatment of second and fourth letters of the varga is found in the next sūtra 'The second and fourth letters of each varga are the aspirate. They are used by the wise in numbers and imitative words. 86

The second and fourth sounds of each varga are called aspirate (mahāprāṇa). As opposed to the aspirate sounds, the first and third sounds are called unaspirate (alpeprāṇa). They are listed below:

Aspirates: kh, gh, ch, jh, ṭh, ḍh, ṭh, ḍh, ph, bh.

Unaspirate: k, g, c, j, ṭ, ḍ, t, d, p, b.

The aspirate sounds, in the case of Kannada language, are used, mostly, in the words indicating numbers, and in the imitative words. For example, irchāsira, enchāsira etc.(number).

Khanilene, chummene, bhōrene (imitation).

In this sūtra, Kēsirāja has indicated the aspirate, sounds. He has not given any basis on which sounds are divided into aspirated and unaspirated. But, this process is explained in the Sanskrit grammars. The TP says: 'More breath is emitted in the other voiceless consonants (i.e. the aspirated stops and the fricatives) than in the unaspirated stops. <sup>87</sup> And the sounds with more breath are called aspirate (mahāprāṇa) sounds, and those with less breath are called unaspirate sounds (alpaprāṇa).

Modern concept of aspiration is not different from that found in the Sanskrit texts. If, while producing a stop, there is an extra puff of air, the feature is called aspiration. And the sound accompanied by this aspiration is <sup>88</sup> called aspirated stop. Aspiration may be found both in the voiced and voiceless stops.

In addition to the aspirated sounds, there is also another feature of classification which is not touched by

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87 bhūyān prathamebyo'nyesu - T.P. ii, 11. See Allen p.38.

88 'When the pressure is great, the release of the occlusion is followed by an outrush of an air, often described as a puff of breath. This is aspiration, and the stops formed in this way are aspirated'. - Block and Trager, p.32.

Kēśirāja, but used by him for the classification. That feature is voicing. In the list of classified sounds, every third and fourth sounds of the class are voiced sounds. For example, g, gh, j, jh, ḍ, ḍh, ḍ, ḍh, b, bh. These sounds are called 'nāda (voice) sounds, nāda being 'force of voiced breath'. 'When the glottis is closed, voice is produced, when it is open, breath.'<sup>89</sup> There is another statement which explains the relation of the voicing process to the various sounds. 'The breath is emitted in the case of the voiceless consonants, and voice in the case of voiced consonants and the vowels.'<sup>90</sup> Whilst 'ghoṣavat' and 'aghoṣa' are generally used for voiced, and voiceless, the usual term for voice is 'nāda' and not 'ghoṣa'. The sound with nāda is ghoṣavat (not 'nādavāt') and without 'nāda' is aghoṣa(not<sup>91</sup> 'anāda').

If, at the time of a pronunciation of a particular sound, the vocal cords are vibrating, there will be 'voice'. The sounds accompanied by voice are voiced sounds. If the vocal

89 samvṛte kanthe nādaḥ kriyate; vivṛte svāśaḥ.  
TP. ii 4-5. See Allen, p.34.

90 'svāśo' ghoṣeṣvanupradānaḥ; nādo ghoṣavat svareṣu,  
AP. i. 12-13. See Allen, p.34.

91 Allen, p.34. f.n. 2.

cords are silent, then there will be no voice. Sound in such a situation are called voiceless sounds. Voicing is not confined to the consonant only. The vowels are almost always voiced. The voiced and voiceless consonants among the classified letters are:

Voiceless	-	k	kh,	c	ch,	ṭ	ṭh,	t	th,	p	ph,
Voiced	-	g	gh,	j	jh,	ḍ	ḍh,	ḍ	dh,	b	bh.

After delineation of the aspirated and unaspirated distinction, the question as to whether the aspirated sounds exist in Kannada is found in the next sūtra. 'The aspirates<sup>92</sup> are also found used naturally in some Kannada words'.

The aspirate sounds are natural to Kannada, according to Kēsīrāja. He has already said in the previous sūtra that these aspirated sounds are used in the numerals and imitative words. Here, he does not seem to restrict his statement. As examples, he gives, dekkhāṇam, pakkhāṇam, khārige, jhalakam, dhage, dhāli, bhāvam etc.

Now, the question is: are these aspirates inherent for Kannada, as Kēsīrāja supposes? All the words in the list are either from Sanskrit or from Prakrit. None of these is

natural to Kannada. Even Kēsīrāja is not uniform in his opinion. In the previous sūtra he has stated that the aspirates occur only in the numerals and imitative words; and here, he states that they are inherent. The examples given for the present sūtra are not Kannada ones. As for the examples given for numerals, it can be seen that the second member of these compounds is 'sāsira' only. And this 'sāsira' is the corrupted word from Sanskrit Sahasra. That is also not Kannada word. When this word 'sāsira' is combined with some numeral, s - the first sound of that word becomes ch -. But what about other cases where the words beginning with s are found without such a change? For example, eradu seragu - irceragu. In such cases, it is, perhaps, due to the influence of Sanskrit Sandhi.<sup>93</sup> The numeral compounds given above are not really native Kannada compounds.

About imitative words. These are borrowed words. Most of them may be originally unaspirated. These were aspirated<sup>94</sup> as Prof.M.M.Bhat thinks because of the thought that they

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93 Just as in Sanskrit Srimat - Sasānka = Srimaccheśānka, so in the internal aspiration of Kannada numerals, there seems to prevail some Sanskrit Sandhi influence - M.M. Bhat. 'Aspirates in Kannada'.

94 Ibid.

would enhance the emphasis of the concerned sound. There too, aspiration is not universal in these words. All the people do not pronounce these words with aspiration. If aspiration was natural, they would have been uniformly pronounced with aspiration. Prof.M.M.Bhat shows that there are some words which in Sanskrit are unaspirated, but in Kannada they are aspirated. For example, Khoppar (Kan) is derived from Sanskrit word 'Karpara 'shoulder-blade' or Karpara 'cauldron'.

Karnāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa, the predecessor of Śabdamanī Darpaṇa, is more doubtful on the matter. It states: 'There are, perhaps, no second and fourth letters of the varga.' By 'perhaps' it is meant that they are found in the numerals<sup>95</sup> and imitative words etc.' They, as shown above, occur in a very restricted environment, that too, not Kannada.

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Kaypidi (Part I) gives three reasons as to why aspirates are not native to Kannada: They are:

- 1) The examples given by Kēśirāja for the numerals begin only with 'Sāsira' as the second member. 'Sāsira' itself

95 'nātra prāyeṇa vargāṇāṃ dvitīyacaturthāḥ; prāyeṇeti vacanāt sankhyānuharaṇēdau dr̥syante.'

Kar. Bhā. Bhu.

96 Kaypidi (Part I)- p.317.

is not a Kannada word, it being a corrupted word from Sanskrit.

2) Imitative words which have aspirates, can not form the basis, as they may be unaspirated also.

3) The examples given by Kēsirāja to show that aspirates are natural, are not Kannada words.<sup>97</sup>

So, the aspirated sounds are not natural to Kannada.

The latter half of their sūtra deals with 'bindu'. 'The fifth letter of each classified group of consonants is called as nasal', and the nasal letters are ṇ, n, ṇ, n, m.

Nasal (anunāsika) sound, as we have already explained, is produced when both oral and nasal cavities are open, the articulation being in oral cavity.<sup>98</sup> For nasal sound, every activity being the same as that of oral sound, there will be nasal passage open. Nasals, also, are stops.

Bindu is called anunāsika and is included among the four yōgavāhas. The idea of the four yōgavāhas is given in the next sūtra. 'The bindu, visarga, jivhāmūliya, and upadhmāniya are called the yōgavāha letters. The jivhāmūliya stands

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97 For a detailed information of this see, Karnāṭaka vyākaraṇōpanyaśa manjari, p.22.

98 a) nāsikāvivarāṇādānunāsikyam T.P. ii. 52.

b) anunāsikam mukhanāsikam - A.P. 1.27. See Allen, p.39.

before 'k', and the upadhmāniya before 'p'.<sup>99</sup>

The 'k' of jīhvāmūliya is to facilitate pronunciation. If this 'k' is deleted, the remaining letter looks like a pasumbe. The form of the letter along with k is ೞ.

The 'p' in upadhmāniya is also for helping pronunciation. The upadhmāniya is in form like the pair of breasts of a young girl. The form of the letter along with 'p' is ೞ.

The sonne is circular in shape like the circling of a kaivāra (a compass). It's form is 0.

The two such bindus are arranged one above the other to form the visarga. It has the shape .

In this sūtra also Kēsirāja only gives the graphic picture of the yōgavāhas and not their nature. In the sūtra 43, he has omitted the three of these yōgavāhas viz., visarga, jīhvāmūliya and upadhmāniya. Hence, they are not necessary for the Kannada language.

However, let us study the nature of these yōgavāhas. Visarga is the short form of visarjanīya, which means

terminator, terminal sound'. The symbol given for it is . It may be transcribed as h. The Sanskrit grammatical treat-<sup>100</sup>ises classify 'visarga' with the fricatives 'ś, ṣ and s.

Along with the 'visarga' there are two others, viz., jīhvāmūliya (lit. 'of tongue-root'), and the symbol given for it in Kannada grammar is . It may be transcribed as a fricative X. The 'upadhmanīya' (Lit. 'breathed-at') has the symbol in our grammar. It may be transcribed ø - bilabial fricative.

Whatever the different symbols are given for these three, the pronunciation of these is not independent. The jīhvāmūliya sound is pronounced only before k. For example, usahkāla. Upadhmanīya is pronounced only before p. For example, payahpāna. Visarga occurs before pause and before the sounds of other class. When it occurs in the final position, it is pronounced as h (e.g. rāmah, dēvah, etc.) and before other sounds as 'ś, ṣ, or s (e.g. devaś carati, devaś tiṣṭati etc.) The striking point about all these sounds is that they have no single fixed position of articulation, there being no agreement about the 'point of articulation' or 'the articulator'.

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100 For an excellent exposition of the 'visarga'. See, 'A Phonemic Interpretation of Visarga'. A.H.Fry 'Language' - Vol. XVII-1941.

Limiting ourselves, here, to jihvāmūliya, upadhmāniya and visarga (without its various representations like s̐, ś̐, s̐, etc.) we may say this: as well the three sounds have well defined environment of their own, it may be concluded that, visarga may be taken as a phonemic representative, with jihvāmūliya and upadhmāniya as positional variants of it, i.e. the allophone s̐. That means, there is only one phoneme visarga, and it has three allophones - jihvāmūliya occurring before k, upadhmāniya occurring before p and visarga elsewhere.

As Kēsirāja has retained bindu in his alphabets, discarding the three yōgavāhas, he is treating of the bindu in the next sūtras: 'The cipher is called bindu and anusvāra. It is, like a pearl, circular in shape. If two such ciphers are arranged vertically one over the other, just like the ornament, that symbol is called visarga.'

For 'sonne' (cipher) there are two names, bindu and anusvāra. It is like a single pearl. It is the corrupted form of Sanskrit word 'sūnya'. As it is like a cipher, it

101 The Tamil 'āyṭam' (represented in the alphabetical system as . . .) is commonly considered as identical with visarga - 'Some problems in Kannada linguistics' p. 18.

102 S.D. sūtra - 21.

is called bindu. It's shape is o.

It is strange that Kēsīrāja is dealing with visarga, though, according to him, it is not necessary for Kannada. This is done because first he is describing the sounds whether they are of Sanskrit or Kannada. Only after this is done, he is deducting the sounds which are not necessary for Kannada. This was not necessary. As we have dealt with visarga in detail we are not dealing with it here.

In the next sūtra, Kēsīrāja gives the pronunciation of bindu (and visarga also). 'The bindu and visarga take their positions next to a vowel, and they by themselves can not be pronounced. They are called dependents on vowel, and dependents on consonant.'<sup>103</sup>

As they come after the vowels, and have no independent pronunciation, the bindu and visarga are termed as svarāṅgas and vyanjanangas.

As bindu and visarga have no independent pronunciation, they are pronounced with the help of some other sound. In the sūtra it is said that they are both svarāṅga and vyanjanāṅga. As bindu and visarga go with vowels, it is correct to say that they are svarāṅga. Probably Kēsīrāja meant that

while all the other vyanjanas occur as syllabic onsets, at least in graphic representation, e.g.  $k^a$ ,  $g^a$ , the visarga and anusvāra do not have this status, since they occur as syllabic codas. Moreover, etc., independent of the vowels can be written, but not bindu or visarga, which in Kannada varṇamālā are written as and . But what about vyanjanāṅga ? Vyanjanas themselves are mostly svarāṅgas.

In the sūtra there are two terms used as equivalents, viz., anunāsika and anusvāra, which, in fact, are different. (Detailed explanation of all this will follow after the enumeration of the sūtras on bindu).

The next sūtra is: 'After m and n, whether there is a consonant or not, bindu is born. If there is one of the classified consonants, it becomes optionally the fifth letter of the class'.

After m and n, whether there is a consonant or not, m and n become bindu; that means, at least in certain environments, there is neutralisation of m and n. But, if after the bindu, there is one of the sound of the class, it will be nasal of that class.

104 Vyanjanam svarāṅgam. TP 1.6.

105 S.D. sūtra - 172.

There are three varieties in the nasality.

- 1) Along with the oral cavity if the nasal cavity also is open, the sounds produced are called nasal sounds. Such nasal sounds are five in number viz., m, n, ṇ, ñ, ṅ.
- 2) Another variety having nasality is the nasalised vowels. In such vowels, nasality is the additional feature. However, they are not very frequent.
- 3) The third variety of nasality is anusvara. This anusvāra may be given a symbol ṁ. The environment in Sanskrit, in which the anusvāra comes is: after the vowels and before the fricatives ś, ṣ and s (and sometimes h) in the first stage. For example, aṁsa, haṁsa etc. That is, the nasal sound which comes before the fricative sounds in Sanskrit has a special name 'anusvāra'. During the second stage this environment widened and it began to occur before r, v and y also. About anusvāra, there are, prominently, three views.
  - 1) Anusvāra is a nasalized vowel. The literal meaning of anusvāra can be seen here viz., "after-sound". This is the opinion of the Siddhānta Kaumudī. According to him the phenomenon where there is an elision of m and n and the previous vowel is nasalised, is anusvāra. (This opinion is expressed in the sūtra No.172 of Kēśirāja).

2) Anusvāra may have the feature of either a vowel or a consonant or it is either a vowel or consonant. <sup>106</sup> Sūtra 22 of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa fits in this scheme.

3) Anusvāra is a consonant. It's pronunciation is g.

According to the scholars no Dravidian language has this anusvāra. Only approximation to the anusvāra is Telugu <sup>107</sup> 'ardhānusvāra'. Kannada has taken the nomenclature from Sanskrit, and applied it to the nasal sound before the consonants of each class.

It is clear that the nasal sound before the varga consonants, is different from that found in the environment of fricatives, and y, r, v. The articulation in haṃsa, siṃha is different from that found in hambal, paṃpa etc. Similarly, in saṃyama, svayaṃavara, etc. The nasal sound before the varga consonants is a stop; and the one before the fricatives and y, r and v is different. This fricative nasal sound is anusvāra; and others anunāsika.

The purport of the above discussion is that anusvāra and nasal are theoretically different, being bound by the

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106 anusvāra vyanjanam vā svarō vā - See Allen, p.43.

107 Dr.Caldwell, p.167.  
But P.G.Kulkarni differs with Caldwell - See 'Kannada Bhaseya Charitre', p.146.

environment. But, this difference in due course, vanished, perhaps due to confusion or ignorance. Hence, the anusvāra came to be used before the varga consonants also. In the beginning perhaps, it was due to the convenience of writing. (In the writing of Sanskrit for anusvāra, a separate symbol ( ¸ ) is used above the letter (e.g. ॐ॒॒॒॑) and before the varga consonants the fifth letter of the class is used. Wherever anusvara was there, (before 's, ṣ, ś, h, r, y, w), this cipher (bindu) was used. The same symbol, because it was convenient, came to be used before other consonants.

The next stage is seen in Kannada. Bindu, when it lost its original nature, began to be used everywhere, and it became the representative of all the nasal sounds in Kannada. It is all right if bindu comes in ॐ॒॒॒॑ etc., but it was used in the words gangā, tande, anṭu etc. But, this is not to suggest that the pronunciation also was changed. What happened in Kannada was the borrowing of the Sanskrit nomenclature with orthographic symbol, but leaving its function.

Another question here is: How many are the nasal phonemes in Kannada? Kēśirāja (as also other grammarians) lists five nasal sounds viz., m, n, ṇ, ñ and ṁ. But are all of these significant for Kannada? Of these five /m/, /n/, /ṇ/ occur in the minimal pairs like amma, anna, aṇṇa. Hence

they are separate phonemes. But, there are no such minimal pairs for  $\tilde{n}$  and  $\dot{n}$ .  $\tilde{n}$  and  $\dot{n}$  have got a definite and predictable environment. Hence they can be grouped as allophones of /n/, the environment being the consonant of its class. Hence though there are five nasal sounds, there are only three nasal phonemes in Kannada. Each of these nasal sounds have a symbol in the writing system. And bindu ( O ) is a common symbol for all these nasal sounds. As the existing system has provided for the nasal sounds, bindu is not necessary for Kannada (on both the phonological and orthographic levels).<sup>108</sup>

In the next sūtra, Kēsirāja gives some nasal consonants. 'The letters y, w and l are called nasals as well as non-nasals.'<sup>109</sup>

The consonants y, w and l are both nasals and non-nasals. Examples for the nasal y, w, l are as follows:

y	-	mēyisidaṃ; mayana etc.
w	-	sēve, jāvaṃ, māvaṃ.
l	-	allaṇige, ollaṇige, hallaṇa.

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108 Also, a) 'Kannada Bhasayalli Bindu' J.S.Kulli 'Karnataka Bharati' Vol.I. Part I.

b) 'The Nasal Phonemes in Kannada' - Dr.Biligiri. Indian Linguistics, Vol. 16.

109 S.D. sūtra - 26.

The question is: these examples given for nasal consonants have nasality? and, if so, is it significant so as to give it a phonemic status? In the examples like mēyisidam, nōyisidam, etc. the nasality is due to the adjacent consonant. If the nasality is found due to the influence of the neighbouring sound, it is not significant. Some other words like jāvaṃ, kōvaṃ are from Sanskrit, and -m- between two vowels becomes nasalized v. In some words, it is just due to the ideosyncrasy of a particular individual, not a general phenomenon.

If these y, w and l are nasalized, why Kēsīrāja did not give them the status of a varṇa? He says that there are both the varieties, nasal and non-nasal sounds, but does not include them in the alphabet. Hence, we have to say that this nasalization in y, w and l is allophonic.

Now, Kēsīrāja explains the nature of some individual letters in the next sūtras. 'The letter 'l' which stands as a substitute for 'l' occurring in Sanskrit words is called the ksāla'.<sup>110</sup>

The letter l in Kannada which comes in the place of 'l' in Sanskrit is given a name of ksāla. For example, the 'l'

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occurring in the words jaḷam (Skt. jalam), phaḷam (Skt. phalam), tilam (Skt. tilam), baḷam (Skt. balam) etc. is called kṣaḷa. (A detailed treatment will be given after the enumeration of all these sūtras).

In the next sūtra, Kēśirāja explains the nature of the kṣaḷa, and the reason why he is stating about kṣaḷa. 'In a poetical composition where kuḷa is employed kṣaḷa has not the option of being used as 'l'. In a poetical composition where 'l' is employed as prāsa, kṣaḷa should not be used even optionally. There is no option for 'l' of Sanskrit except in the exigency of a kṣaḷa. Hence, I told about the <sup>111</sup> kṣaḷa here'.

Kuḷa means the ḷ found in Kannada words. Kṣaḷa is a ḷ which has no difference with l (of Sanskrit) as there is no difference between l and ḷ.

The gloss on this sūtra reads: As the Kannada poetical composition in which there is kuḷa prāsa includes kṣaḷa also, 'l' should not be used optionally. In the Kannada composition where l is for prāsa, kṣaḷa is not used optionally. Hence that too is not possible. As Kṣaḷa is not used except for

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111 S.D. sūtra - 15.

the l in Sanskrit words optionally, kṣaḷa is treated here. <sup>112</sup>

The examples given are:

For kuḷa-kṣaḷa prāsa:

'kilire hayangal garjiṣe  
jaḷada nibhangal gajangal

For kuḷa the kṣaḷa can come as a prāsa. So the example is all right. The word 'kilire' is a Kannada word; and hence contains 'kuḷa'. The word 'jaḷada' which is Sanskrit word (jala) contains kṣaḷa. This sort of prāsa is allowed.

For kṣaḷa not being used for 'l'.

ōḷegadolorme natanara  
pālaka cūḍamanidyutiḷuta caranam.

<sup>113</sup>

Many have found fault with this example. The example is given here for showing that kṣaḷa is not used for 'l'. The example is not for the fault, but the proper example of the point. <sup>114</sup> If the example for the fault was given, it would

112 There are many controversies raised for this sūtra.  
See, 'Kuḷa-kṣaḷa-vicāra'. P.K. Vol. 45. pt.IV.

113 Ibid. and Ālōka, p.35.

114 kṣaḷa sūtra - Jayanti. September, 1964.

have 'ōlaga' and 'pālaka'.

In the next sūtra, he gives the nature of r, l etc. If 'r' is pronounced with more force, 'ṛ' is produced. 'ḍ' pronounced with more force results in ḷ. 'l' pronounced with more force gives rise to 'ḷ' of Kannada known as kula. This kula, as we have already seen, can not be used as prāsa with 'l'.<sup>115</sup>

To bring harmony between the idea expressed in the sūtra and the gloss (which apparently is found) there is a suggestion<sup>116</sup> that in place of 'samane sallada' in the sūtra be read as 'beṭṭitenisida'.

And sūtra: 'These sounds (r, ṛ, ḍ, ḷ, l, ḷ (kula) are used in the alankāra known as varṇāvr̥tti (alternation of letters). But, these should not be used for the purpose of prāsa. They are, also, not used in connection with alankāra 'yamaka'. These four letters along with the short sounds e<sup>117</sup> and o are indigenous to the (Kannada) language.

115 S.D. sūtra - 28.

116 Darpaṇāvalokana - M.M.Kalburgi - Vol.IX, Journal of Karnatak University, Humanities.

117 S.D. sūtra - 29.

If 'r', 'ḍ' and 'l' are pronounced with more force 'ṛ', 'ḷ' and ḷ (kuḷa) are produced respectively. r is alveolar. ṛ also belongs to the same point of articulation. 'ḍ' is retroflex. ḷ belongs to that point of articulation. 'l' is dental; kuḷa belongs to that point of articulation. Hence, they are used in varṇāvṛtti. But not for prāsa and yamaka.

l    ḷ by pressing hard seems to exist in following points:

May be like in Tamil, Kēsirāja, might have come across with an alveolar variety of the dental lateral. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain why Kēsirāja being such a grammarian, should tumble in identifying ḷ as a resultant from l.

for r and ṛ - more - more, mare - mare, kore - kore.  
for ḍ and ḷ - kaḍal - kaḷal  
for l and ḷ - mole - mole, kale - kale.

As all these are of the same point of articulation, they are used in varṇāvṛtti. There is phonetic similarity among these sounds. Moreover, they are articulated at the same point of articulation; and are different because of their pronunciation with more force - See K.K.Gowder Pra. Ka. 43.3.

Then there are some verses for these points. Then there are examples where ḷ comes in place of ḍ. Kāḷgiccu, kōḷkattu, nīḷkarisidam, māḷpam, nōḷpam, nāḷi, etc.

Kēsirāja has mixed grammar and prosody here. Since his analysis is based on poets' works, examples are to be necessarily taken from them and to determine 'sound value' of the different symbols, 'prāsa' is just necessary.

In the next sūtra, the examples are given. 'The ḍ letter of Sanskrit dāḍima, kūṣmāṇḍa, gauda, gūḍa, jhagade, vidanga eḍaka change into ḷ, when these words take tadbhava forms in Kannada. This ḷ in the above words is a further corruption of ḷ'.<sup>117</sup>

The words dāḷimbam, kumbalaṃ, gaulaṃ, gūlaṃ, jagale, vilangaṃ contain ḷ (kūḷa) which is from ḷ that is born of ḍ. The word eḷaga contains kūḷa born of ḍ.

In the next sūtra, he states some other letters that give rise to ḷ. In the poetical compositions t, ṭ, th, r and ḷ (kṣala) change into ḷ in tadbhavas.<sup>118</sup>

Examples:

t ḷ - ghaṭike - gaḷige, dhāṭi - dhāḷi, lāṭam - lāḷam etc.

t ḷ - pratihaṣṭam - paḷihattam, pratipāḍukam - paḷivāvuge

th ḷ - maṭhike - maḷige, pīṭhike - pīḷige.

117 S.D. sūtra - 30.

118 S.D. sūtra - 31.

r ḷ - kūrām - kūḷ, jhallari - jhallali.  
ksala ḷ - tālam - tāḷ, pulinam - pulil etc.

The examples are continued in the next sūtra. 'Letter ṭ is changed into ḷ in the words sphatika, pēṭike, viṭike, ghutike, varāta, raghate, sphuṭa, sphoṭaka and lampāṭa, when they are tadbhavas.'<sup>119</sup>

He states the word hōḷige, the corrupted word from sphoṭaka, and lampāḷa from lampāṭa and doubtful examples for ḷ, but, however, they are ḷ.

In the next sūtra a list of words with letter ḷ is given. 'The list of words with letter ḷ. The meanings of these words vary from one to as many as five. These words<sup>120</sup> are from the works of the great poets of early times'.

He has selected 181 words from the works of the great poets of the yore. The list contains the words with one meaning to five meanings.

In the next sūtra he gives the rule for the double consonants with r: 'In prāsa, long consonants with r are

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119 S.D. sūtra - 32.

120 S.D. sūtra - 33.

sometimes used along with long consonants with l. The usage is correct though the <sup>121</sup> r with double consonant can not be pronounced as l'.

In the next sūtra he gives the words of which he is not sure whether there is kuḷa or raḷa. 'It is doubtful whether the l in the following words is kuḷa or raḷa. The letter is to be determined on seeing the usages. All examples given <sup>122</sup> here go to prove that they are all kuḷa'.

In the words jhaḷakam, jhaḷapisidam, jāṅguli, bombuli, āḷamāḷam, thaṃāḷam, vaḷige, onduli, jaṅguli, puttali, gōli, phēli, it is not clear whether there is l or raḷa.

'ilidaḷiyam, ēḷidam, sūkali, ōkuli, kaḷaru, peḷaru, marakuli, aḷiyam, kuḷiyam, māḷige, jāḷige, taḷige, baḷasu, <sup>123</sup> baḷasiga, moḷe, tāḷam'.

In the next two sūtras the list of examples is continued. āḷisidam, peḷisidam, kēḷam, jūdāli, alile, kaḷavaḷam, <sup>124</sup> meymēḷam, māḷam, tāḷige, ilige, irukuli are having kuḷa.

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121 S.D. sūtra - 34.

122 S.D. sūtra - 35.

123 S.D. sūtra - 36.

124 S.D. sūtra - 37.

Next sūtra gives the words where l-ending words are pronounced with ḷ. 'The words beral, eral, oral, koral, saral, aral, paral, maral, naral, and mungaysaral end in ḷ. People ignorant of this pronounce them wrongly as ending in ḷ(kuḷa). The above l- ending words should not be confused as ending in ḷ (kuḷa).<sup>125</sup>

All these words are ending in ḷ. Hence, they should not be pronounced with ḷ at the end. In Kēsirāja's time, -ḷ was changing to -ḷ, and this trend increased in later period and so now, we have only -ḷ in all such places.

In the next sūtra, the optional use of ḷ is permitted. 'The medial r in the words maral, aral and eral becomes optionally ḷ. Thus through interchange of ḷ and r, the words<sup>126</sup> are also pronounced as malar, alar and elar'.

The word 'vikalpa' (option) means it has both the usages.

Now, let us start with r and ṛ. There is no doubt about the existence of two r's in old Kannada and to some extent in middle Kannada. In modern Kannada there is only one r, two r's having merged into one. And there is also

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125 S.D. sūtra - 38.

126 S.D. sūtra - 39.

no doubt about the difference existed in the pronunciation of these two. The examples given by Kēsīrāja to prove the existence of two r's are: more-more, mare-mare, kore-kore.

About the pronunciation of these two, Kēsīrāja says that 'if 'r' is pronounced with more force, 'r̥' is produced. In the gloss he says 'r' is retroflex; and r̥ is also having the same point of articulation. Is or was the pronunciation of r retroflex? Position of articulation in retroflex sounds is, the tip of the tongue is curled towards the soft palate, especially in the region of dome.<sup>127</sup> Such retroflex sounds in Kannada are ṭ, ḍ, ṇ, ṣ, ḷ. But in r such a pronunciation is not found. While pronouncing r, the tip of the tongue touches the alveolar region, that too, for a very short period. Hence, r is, in terms of phonetics, voiced alveolar flap. Then how could Kēsīrāja say that it is a retroflex? The answer is, Pāṇini had said so, hence he too said the same thing.<sup>128</sup> But, Pāṇini's statement itself is refuted. 'As regards r, all the Prātiśākhya state that its place of origin is either the teeth, the roots of the teeth or teeth-ridge'.<sup>129</sup> That is, according to the Prātiśākhya, r was

127 mūrdhanyānām jīhvāgram prativeṣṭitam - A.P. 1:22.  
See Allen, p.52.

128 Syurmūrdhanyā riṭurṣaḥ - Pāṇini - 17. See Allen, p.74.

129 Siddheshwar Varma, p.6.

either dental or alveolar, and not retroflex as Pāṇini thought. Hence, the pronunciation of r is not retroflex as Kēsirāja<sup>130</sup> says in imitation to Pāṇini, but alveolar.

The r usually pronounced in Sanskrit to-day is more the trilled variety, where the tongue touches the teeth ridge,<sup>131</sup> and delivers a rapid series of taps there on. This rēpha<sup>132</sup> according to Daniel Jones has at least, six varieties, of course not in Kannada.

In difference to this rēpha, there is another r, called Śakāṭa rēpha (r̥). This is not found in Sanskrit. Hence, it is included by Kēsirāja in the list of the letters peculiar Kannada.

r̥ is included in the semi-vowels by Rev.Caldwell, and is considered as an exclusive property of the Dravidian languages.<sup>133</sup> And he also notes its peculiarity. It can not be pronounced without the help of preceding vowels. The use of r̥ is one of the distinguishing features of old, as<sup>134</sup> distinct from modern Kannada.

130 In Other Dravidian languages like Tamil, Telugu, etc., it is dental. See T.N.Srikantayya. Pa. Pa. Vol.23. pt.2.

131 Elements of the Science of Language. D.244.

132 An Outline of English Phonetics.

133 Caldwell, p.144.

134 Ibid.



The use of r has two peculiarities in Tamil.<sup>135</sup>

1) r when doubled, is pronounced as ttr, written as rr. The t of this compound sound differs both from the varga consonant t and the retroflex ṭ. In Kannada, it becomes t, e.g. Ta.marru - becomes matu in Kannada. In old Kannada also the same phenomenon is noticed.

If r is pronounced with more force, r is produced. As there is no r in the modern Kannada, it is difficult to decide its pronunciation. In the old Kannada, r had its distinct existence. 'r is maintained throughout the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th centuries. We find r used for r'.<sup>136</sup> But <sup>137</sup> this change started much earlier, even in the 10th century. There is another suggestion that the phoneme r in Kannada seems to be a partial 'āyatam' correspondent, because it is used for representing the upadhmāṇīya before P in old Kannada <sup>138</sup> inscriptions.

The r is found even to-day in the speech of the soligas. On the strength of this and other Dravidian languages we may say that r was back alveolar trill. That is, in

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135 Ibid.

136 Grammar of old Kannada inscriptions, p.25.

137 Historical grammar of Old Kannada, p.15.

138 C.R.Sankaran, p.15.

difference to *r* where one or two taps of the tip of the tongue were there, (so it is flap), here more vibrations of the tip of the tongue are found. It is more back than the <sup>139</sup>*r*. It is called 'rephāsrita' because firstly, it is produced by *r* with more force and in some contexts *r̥* is changed to *r*.

Now, let us consider *l̥*, *l̥* and *l̥* (*kṣala*). *l̥* is called *kula*, *l̥* *raḷa* and *l̥* (*kṣala*). About *l̥* (*kula*) there is not a controversy as regards its pronunciation. It is retroflex lateral. The tip of the tongue is curled towards the domal region, and while pronouncing it the air is passing through one of the sides of the tongue.

In addition to this phoneme in Kannada, there was one more phoneme in old Kannada, which is no more there on the Kannada tongue now, except being used in old Kannada poetry. This was found in such words as: *al̥ti* (love), *kal̥tale* (darkness), *pal̥atu* (old), *pol̥tu* (time), *ēlu* (seven), *kal̥te* (donkey) *pul̥u* (worm) etc.

About the pronunciation of *l̥*, it is very difficult to decide as it is ceased to be used long back. The Tamil

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139 'It's pronunciation may be some where between *t* and *t̥*'. See Kannada Bhāṣeya Charitre, p.152.

language still retains it. The of Tamil is a corresponding phoneme of Kannada ॡ. The pronunciation of this ॡ according to Kēsīrāja is: If 'd' is pronounced with more force, ॡ is produced.' What about the pronunciation of ḍ first? This ḍ, now, is pronounced as flap between two vowels and in other contexts, it is a stop. This ḍ if pronounced with more force, yields ॡ. But in ॡ the tip of the tongue is slightly back, perhaps. The pronunciation of ॡ may be inferred on the basis of the following facts: 1) Its pronunciation in Badaga language. 2) The fact that the pronunciation of ॡ is indicated with the help of ṛ. 3) In the words gaḷḷe - gaḷḷe, biḷḷu - biḷḷu etc., ॡ changes to ṛ. 4) The fact that ॡ and ṛ can come in the prāsa. 5) ॡ comes as a substitute for ḍ in the words kāḍige kālḷe, nāḍi nālḷi etc. 6) The Kannada words with ॡ, ॡ are found in Sanskrit with ḍ. 7) The fact that d pronounced with more force yields ॡ. These factors indicate that the pronunciation of ॡ was some where between ॡ and ḍ.

But there is no definiteness found in his treatment of ॡ. He says, sometimes ॡ comes as a substitute for ḍ and gives as examples such as kāḍu - kiḷḷu = kāḷḷiḷḷu, nāḍa - kade = nālḷikade, nāḍi = nālḷi etc. In other sūtra, he says

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ḷ comes as a substitute for ḍ. The examples are: gauḍaṃ, gauḷ̣aṃ, guḍa, guḷa etc. In some other words, he is not clear whether there is ḷ or ḷ, e.g. jhaḷ̣aka, jaṅguḷ̣i, etc. In such words, one should decide on the basis of the usages.

He has said that ḷ comes as a substituted for ḍ; but again he says (sūtra 31) that ḷ may come as a substitute for ṭ, ṭh, ṭ, r or kṣala. The examples are:

ṭ - ḷ - ghaṭ̣ike - ghaḷ̣ige, lāṭ̣a - lāḷ̣a  
 ṭ - ḷ - pratiḥastam - paḷ̣ihattem  
 r - ḷ - krūram - kūḷ̣, jhaḷ̣ari - ghaḷ̣ali  
 (kṣala) ḷ - ḷ - tāḷ̣am - tāḷ̣, puḷ̣ina - puḷ̣ina

In another place, he says ḷ (kuḷa) comes as a substitute for ṭ e.g., sphaṭ̣ikam paḷ̣ikam, pēṭ̣ike pēḷ̣ige. That is, for ṭ sometimes ḷ may come; and some other time ḷ may come. Any way, it is clear that Kēsirāja has not been able to give precise rules for these sounds. They were already disappearing, and it was only a vain attempt by Kēsirāja to establish them, where he failed. For the divergent views expressed by Kēsirāja the reason is that ḷ was disappearing giving its place to ḷ. Hence, similar words contain ḷ and ḷ both. What we can say here is: ḷ was changing and ḷ was occupying its place.

Now, about kṣaḷa (ḷ). This is found in Kannada in addition to the two ḷs. The definition of this ḷ given by Kēsirāja is: the ḷ which comes in place of ḷ of Sanskrit words'. The ḷ in Sanskrit words optionally becomes ḷ in Kannada. This is for the sake of prāsa, because Sanskrit ḷ and Kannada ḷ cannot come in prāsa. The examples for kṣaḷa are: phaḷam (Skt. phalam), jaḷam (Skt. jalam) etc.. There is no difference in the pronunciation of kuḷa<sup>141</sup> and kṣaḷa. Hence, this distinction is not of much importance. This is for the purpose of prosody. The phonetic value of the kṣaḷa is the same as kuḷa. The only place it comes is in prāsasthāna as a substitute for ḷ. Hence, kṣaḷa is just a functional nomenclature and not a different sound.

Was kṣaḷa found in Sanskrit ? Kēsirāja in the enumeration of the Sanskrit alphabet includes ḷ also ('ḷakārambaregam'). There is kṣaḷa because while deducting the letters peculiar to Sanskrit, he deducts kṣaḷa also. Then how to reconcile this kṣaḷa in the Sanskrit alphabet where no ḷ is found ? Though Sanskrit had only ḷ, at least some people were pronouncing it as ḷ e.g.

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141 Kannada varṇagalu - p.113.

'alimālānīlānīlōtpaladala vilasat kañjakiñjāla punjēvali'.<sup>142</sup>  
This pronunciation is noticed mostly in the southern. But at least some of the Northerners had their pronunciation e.g. 'causaṭṭi mūlavannaḥu' etc. All this confused the scholars and gave rise to two sets viz.: 1) Those with a view that as l and ḷ are same in meaning, it is not necessary to give the varṇa-status for l in Sanskrit.<sup>143</sup> Kēsirāja belonged to the first set.

Now, out of the three ḷ's of old Kannada ḷ has merged into ḷ (kūḷa) and ksala is nothing but a functional nomenclature for the same, we can say that only one ḷ is sufficient for Kannada.

After the treatment of r, ṛ, ḷ, ḷ and ḷ (ksala) Kēsirāja notes some peculiarity in the pronunciation of some letters. 'There are Kannada words with i) obligatory and ii) optional anusvāra, and with i) true and ii) slack consonants and iii) with double consonants which may be<sup>144</sup> treated either as true or slack'.

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142 Panchatantra of Durgasimha.

143 Kannada varṇagaḷu - p.116.

144 S.D. sūtra - 46.

There are certain words where the nasal sound is always found. As example, Kēsīrāja gives the list of 64 words, where nasality was regularly found. Then he gives 18 words which were pronounced with or without nasality. What does it indicate? By the time of Kēsīrāja the nasality was disappearing from the words. The list of 18 words where nasal sound was pronounced optionally, has completely disappeared now. In the list of words where nasality was regularly pronounced, nasality is lost in majority of words.<sup>145</sup> Is it possible to give any rule for the loss of nasality? In all the dyssyllabic words where the first vowel is long, nasality at the end of the first syllable is lost. For example, dāṇṭu - daṇṭu, tōṇṭa - tōṇṭa, sīṇṭu - siṇṭu etc. In polysyllabic words (which contain only three syllables in the list) whether there is a short vowel or a long vowel, the nasality after the second or third syllable is lost. For example, aḍaṅgu aḍagu, kaḍumbu kaḍubu, kusumbe kusube etc.

Then, strangely, Kēsīrāja gives a list of words containing double consonants like aggaram, al̥ti, al̥dam etc. There are two kinds of consonant clusters in the words.

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145 Now, only Kuṇṭani and Kavunkul̥, retain nasality. See Ālōka - p.133.

The clusters where the same consonant comes twice e.g. agga-  
ram (gg), ukkevam (kk), oppam (pp), kuppu (pp) etc. 2) The  
clusters where different consonants come together e.g. alti  
(lt), eldam (ld), kalldam (ld) etc. It is seen that modern  
Kannada very rarely contains the clusters of different con-  
sonants. A further study in this direction is a necessity.  
Why Kēsirāja gave such a list ? It would have been suffici-  
ent if he had indicated where slackness in consonant occurs.  
Naturally, in all other contexts the clusters indicated  
above occur. The reason why Kēsirāja had to give such a  
loss was, by his time, the system was affected, where double  
consonant was to be written, only single consonant was found.  
The people were not clear about the consonant clusters.  
Hence, Kēsirāja had to give a list containing the consonant  
clusters.<sup>146</sup>

The list of words 'sithiladvitva' is given. Now, what  
is meant by 'sithiladvitva'? We have already given two kinds  
of consonant clusters ? We have to add one more variety of  
clusters where one of the two consonants in the clusters is  
slack. 'Sithiladvitva' is a phenomenon where the clusters  
are found with r, l and ll as the first members and are  
pronounced with slackness. There is a slight release

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after this consonant and before the second consonant begins.  
Kēsirāja himself has said <sup>147</sup> that this should be delicately  
'sulalitāmāgi' or softly pronounced. The time required for  
pronouncing this sithiladvitva consonant is one mātra.  
Before the treatment of 'sithiladvitva' Kēsirāja gives some  
more examples where consonant clusters - but with repha -  
are found: 'urdu, birdu, tardu, mardu, gurdu, tirdu, pardu,  
garduvu, urdiduvu, garde, and garde - all these words have  
<sup>148</sup>  
repha in them'.

In all these words, there is a short penultimate  
vowel. The penultimate letter is termed as 'upadhā' in an-  
<sup>149</sup>  
cient grammatical literature. 'nurgidudu, nergidudu, kargi-  
dudu, jarguvīdudu, pergattu, vorgādar, pergalam, kurgidudu,-  
<sup>150</sup>  
These words also have repha.'

Here also only short vowel is found in penultimate  
position.

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147 S.D. sūtra -

148 S.D. sūtra - 47.

149 antyād varnāt pūrvam upadhā. V.P. 1.35.

150 S.D. sūtra - 48.

'Iṛpu, tōṛpu, karpu, nēṛpu, sirpe, aḍarpu, āṛpu, kūṛpu, parparike, erpu, keygarpu, all these words are having  
151  
repha'.

All these words are having reph. Three words have penultimate long vowel, and the rest short vowel.

'ārdam, sārdam, pārdam, tīrdam, pōrdam, pīrdam, kārdam,  
152  
nōrdam, bārdam, gōrdam, sōrdam', 'ūrgaḷ, kērgaḷ, bērgaḷ,  
nārgaḷ, tērgaḷ, nēgaḷteyārgaḷ, kūrgaḷ, nīrgaḷ, sīrgaḷ,  
153  
tārgaḷ, sūrgaḷ, kārgaḷ' - all these contain long vowel and repha.

What is the reason for giving these words with double consonants where only reph is found? The reason appears to be that in the previous sūtras, he had given words with double consonants where not a single word had repha. It may be to show that the double consonants with repha also occur that he has given these words.

Now, Kēsirāja gives conditions for the occurrence of of sithiladvitva in the next sūtras'. Slack consonants often occur in the plural formed of gaḷ, and dative  
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151 S.D. sūtra - 50.

152 S.D. sūtra - 49.

153 S.D. sūtra - 51.

singular formed with -ge of nominal bases which end in l,  
154  
l or r with short penultimate vowel.'

If the nominal bases ending in l, l and r contain short vowel, and get the suffixes - gal, akke, and -ge (dative) there will be mostly slackness'.

This is the condition No.1.

-l

- gal - agalgal, esalgal, negalgal
- ge - esalge, agalge, negalge, ugulge,

If long vowel or guru there is no slackness.  
basulgal, ikkulgal etc.

-l

- gal - mugulgal, pugulgal,
- ge - mugulge, pugulge, amalge,

Sometimes not slack: kurulgal, purulgal, marulgal.

- r

- gal - kanargal, konargal, talirgal etc.
- ge - mosarge, esarge, osarge, etc.

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For r which is a substitute of ṛ also, there is slackness.

alirgaḷ, pesargaḷ, edargaḷ.

In Kādalrgaḷ, though first vowel is long, still it is slack.

'Slack consonant occur in compounds when g, d, v and j are preceded by words which terminate either in r or <sup>155</sup>l with short penultimate vowel.'

In the compounds if the second member contains g, d, j or v as its first member, the second member contains r or l at the end and one having short penultimate vowel (in <sup>156</sup>the first member), then there will be slackness.

For example

- r kulirgāḷi, alardōṇṭam, alargoncal, bidirdaṭṭi, pogarvaṭṭe, belargempu, talirdōraṇam, bemarvani, alarjompu, kadirjonnam.
- l mugulgāy, amaldongal, esalvase, amaljantram

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155 S.D. sūtra - 53.

156 Slackness is also occurs after l as found in Gedāyuddha. See K.K.Gowda - Pra. Ka.43.3.

This is condition No.2.

'Slack consonants occur in compounds when 1) the affixes da, dapa, va, 2) -ge suffix of the third person optative (vidhi) or 3) -gum suffix of third person present or future - are joined to the verb which has a short syllable in the beginning and which ends in l, l or r'.<sup>157</sup>

For the polysyllabic roots ending in l, l and r and having short vowel, if the affixes da, (past), dapa (present) va (future) and -ge of third person optative, and -gum indicating present or future are added the verb forms become slack.

Example:

- l - jagul<sub>l</sub>dan, jagul<sub>l</sub>dapan, jagul<sub>l</sub>ven.  
tegal<sub>l</sub>ge, negal<sub>l</sub>ge, pogal<sub>l</sub>ge.  
tegal<sub>l</sub>gum, negal<sub>l</sub>gum, pogal<sub>l</sub>gum
- l - nusul<sub>l</sub>dan, nusul<sub>l</sub>dapan, nusul<sub>l</sub>ven  
nusul<sub>l</sub>ge, masul<sub>l</sub>ge  
nusul<sub>l</sub>gum, masul<sub>l</sub>gum

In some places there is no slackness e.g. teral<sub>l</sub>den,

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poraldam.

- r    - toḍardan, nimirdan, nimirdapan, nimirvan  
          toḍarge, adirge, bidirge, eḍarge.  
          amargum, nimirgum

If long consonant, no slackness e.g. ārdam, sārdam, pārdaṁ.

This condition No.3.

'Slack consonants are inherent in the words bardila -  
the name of the heaven, gardugu, amarduvalli, kampalardudu,  
erdevay, adirmutte, erde'.  
158

All these words have slackness of consonants inherently.

This is condition No.4.

It is seen that the slackness occurs in four environments. The environments are:

- 1) To the nominal bases ending in l, ḷ and r and having a short vowel, if the suffixes - gal and -ge are added there will be slackness.
- 2) In the compounds where the first member ends in g, d, j or v, there will be slackness.

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158 S.D.Sūtrāṅga 55.

3) In the verbs containing tense suffixes like da, dapa, va, the suffix -gum indicating present or future, and the optative -ge, there will be slackness.

4) In the words where r is found with d.

In all these four environments where slackness is found, one feature is common, i.e. the words terminate in either l, l or r. It means that slackness is found in the double consonants, where the first member is either l, l or r. The second member is d (in majority of cases), g (next in order) j or v (rarely). This v also developed from p in compounds e.g. bemaṛ - paṇi bemaṛvaṇi. Of these four environments, the slackness found in the words erde, bardila etc. is termed natural. In other words it has resulted after compounding process. In addition to the environments listed by Kēsiraṇja sithiladvitva also occurs with l.<sup>159</sup>

If we consider the present pronunciation of the stops, it is seen that it is tense (kaṭhina) in the beginning of the word, and lax (saraḷa) between two vowels. For example,

pati, peṭṭige, bāle, baṇṇa, tamma, ātanu, dāne, nadi,  
tāku, pēṭe, caluvu, īcala, jalaka, rāja, kōḍu, hāku,  
guru, uguru.

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159 Darpaṇāvalōkana - Pra. Ka. 43.3.

In all these words the stop in the beginning of the words requires more effort, and so tense; and the stop in the middle of the words does not require much time, and hence lax. In the consonant clusters where equal effort was found, both the consonants were found pronounced fully. And such clusters were written in old Kannada with the consonant again. For example.

arddakkanduga, avargge, idarkke, irkkula, irppettu,  
160  
ūrgge etc.

But, this distinction of writing the double consonant with repha with dvita as above, in due course began to be lost in writing. There are instances of words, where double consonants are to be written, have a single consonant. For  
161  
example, apudu, geye, etc.

Perhaps, this was the reason why Kēsīrāja gave the list of words having double consonants, and had to give rules for the double consonants where one consonant is pronounced softly.

In the 'slackness of consonants' the first member which is either l, l or r is pronounced softly. And there is

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160 Ibid.

161 Ibid.

a short release after this member, before the second consonant was pronounced. But, what about the quality of the second consonant (which is either d, g, j or v) ? One feature is common. That is, all these consonants which occur as second members of this cluster were stops. Now, whether the quality of these stop consonants changed in the slackness). We have noted that the stop at the beginning is tense, and between two vowels is lax. It is fricativized after l, l and r. That is, the stop coming after l, l and r becomes a fricative. But, this was not in all the environments. It had a definite condition. Hence, it was not given the status of a phoneme. The symbol for these fricatives are:  $\text{ɖ}$  (d) and  $\text{ɣ}$  (g). These were the allophones of a phonemes d and g. This may be represented as follows:

[ $\text{ɖ}$ ] - occurs after l, l and r (e.g. erɖe,  
tegalɖam nusulɖam)

/d/

[d] - else where (e.g. dāri, dīpa)

[ $\text{ɣ}$ ] - occurs after l, l and r (tegalɣe, nuslɣe,  
adirɣe)

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162 I am grateful to Dr.K.K.Gowda, who in response to my suggestion that these are fricative sounds, brought to my notice his article 'Darpanāvalōkana' published in Pra. Ka. 43.3.

/g/

[g] - else where (gāli, magālu)

What is the reason for this slackness in cluster ? Is it because of the shift of stress ? The stress on the syllable other than the first (e.g. negā<sup>163</sup>te, nīrgā<sup>163</sup>, karpū<sup>163</sup>m, ardā<sup>163</sup>m etc.) was shifted to the first syllable (e.g. jāgū<sup>163</sup>ḍam, tēgā<sup>163</sup>ye, bār<sup>163</sup>ḍila, āmar<sup>163</sup>ḍam etc.) This fact has to be further investigated.

The fricativisation of the stops in the slack double consonants, appears to be the remnant of the Dravidian feature, wherein such environments, the stops were fricativized.<sup>164</sup>

Now, we can establish the nasal consonants in the light of the above. Of the twenty-five consonants listed by Kēsirāja, there are five nasal consonants. But, we could show that there only three nasal phonemes. Hence, his varga letters are reduced by two. Of the twenty-three consonants, it has been shown that aspirated sounds are not

163 'Pūrvada Halagannaḍa mattu Tamilu', B.M.Sri - Pra.Ka. 27-1.

164 Even today, in Tamil we can see the initial stops being fricatives between two vowels, (e.g. mahan) and after r (mā<sup>164</sup>rpu), l(Oayalyal), etc. In Kannada also, the word shudu contains fricative.

inherent in Kannada. The aspirated sounds listed by Kēsi-  
raja are ten. They are kh, gh, ch, jh, th, dh, t,  
dh, ph, bh. They are to be deducted from the list.  
Aspirates deducted the list of consonants comes to  
thirteen.

Of the avarga consonants, Kēsirāja himself, after having  
deducted, has established nine consonants. They are y,  
r, ṛ, ḷ, ḹ, ḻ, w, s, h. The total number of conson-  
ants will be  $13 - 9 = 22$ . Including ten vowels the in-  
ventory of Kannada varṇas will be 32. The final list, now,  
is as follows:

- 1) vowels - 10: a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, o, ō.
  - 2) varga letters - 13: k, g, ḥ, j, ṭ, ḍ, ṭ, ḍ, p, b, m,  
n, n.
  - 3) avarga letters - 9: y, r, ṛ, ḷ, ḹ, ḻ, w, s, h.
- total                      32

The letters may be rearranged according to the point of  
articulation etc. (in the case of consonants) advancement,  
and height of the tongue etc. (in the case of vowels).



## CHAPTER V

SANDHI

'The joining of two or more varṇas to each other is called euphonic combination (sandhi). In Sandhi, consonants without any vowel enter the following varṇas.<sup>1</sup>

Examples for consonants with vowels:

kūrtu - ivam - kūrtivam; enna - arasan - ennarasan  
munne - irivam - munnirivam

Examples for consonants without vowels:

jān - unṭu - janunṭu, kurul - koṅkāyṭu - kurulkoṅkāyṭe

In the following sūtra, types of sandhi are given:

There are two types of sandhi:

- 1) Padamadhya (internal) sandhi: (2) padānta (external) sandhi. The first occurs within a word when the nominal base or verbal theme joins with suffixes. The second takes<sup>2</sup> when a word joins with another.

The joining of the base and the suffix is called internal (padamadhya) sandhi. Joining of the two words is called the external (padāntya) sandhi. ~~There are two parts~~

1 S.D. sūtra - 59.

2 S.D. sūtra - 60.



The examples:

internal sandhi : mētu - am - mētām, mētu - im - mētim,

nūḍida - am - nūḍidam

external sandhi : avānā' aḷtanam - avanā'ltinam

kāmana - aṇdale - kāmanaṇdale

māḍidar - avar - māḍidaravar

'This is the first section. The explanation of all the terms may not be found here. They will be explained along with the sūtras in the relevant sections.'

In the first sūtra under consideration, Kēsīrāja defines sandhi as joining of two or more varṇas. Joining of two varṇas is alright for sandhi. But what about joining of more than two varṇas? There certain examples given for the sandhi fault. For the sūtra 69, the example given for the sandhi falt is: barisi pradhānaram etc.

kullirisi priya etc.

In these examples after the vowel in the final position of the first word, the second word starts with a consonant clusters viz., pr and pr. He says sandhi like this is a fault. When he says 'palavum varṇam', Kēsīrāja, perhaps,

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may be having such examples in question, in addition to the examples like vidvītstrī etc. (No.73)

After explaining the sandhi phenomenon, and the kinds of it, Kēsīrāja, in the following sutras, explains the sandhi rules governing the Kannada language:

'Elision of vowels at the end of the inflected and uninflected words both in Sanskrit and Kannada, before vowels, generally takes place, when such an elision does not make the meaning uncertain.'

That is, if there is a vowel in the final position of the first word and initial position of the second word, one vowel is dropped provided the meaning is not affected.

Examples:

Sanskrit suffix vowel : kramāde - āytu - kramādāytu, īśvarāṇa - olavu-īśvaranolavu

Kannada suffix vowel : nelādinde - unḇam - nelādinḇunḇam  
lēsiṅge - oḇeyam - lēsiṅgoḇeyam

Vowel of the verbal suffix: māḍidevu - olḇam - māḍidevoḇḇam

Vowel in the base: arasa - āḷ - arasāl, baḍabāḍa - āḍam -  
baḍabāḍāḍam

Examples:

Sanskrit suffix vowel: kramade - āytu - kramādaytu, īśvarana  
- olavu - īśvaranolavu

Kannada suffix vowel: neladinde - unbam - nelādinuṇbam  
lēsiṅge - oḍeyam - lēsiṅgoḍeyam

Vowel of the verbal suffix: māḍidevu - olpam - māḍidevoḷpam

Vowel in the base: arasa - ā - arasā, baḍabaḍa - adam  
- adam - baḍabaḍadam

There is no sandhi if it effects the structure.

paṭu - ēkavākyam - paṭṭuvēkavākyam

vidhu - idu - vidhuvidu

Though divided into Sanskrit and Kannada, and again base and suffix vowels for each, there is not any difference in the sandhi. The distinction is only a technical one.

'Y is inserted after i) ā, ii) i, iii) ī, iv) o, v) ai, vi) e, vii) ē, and viii) after a, when it is an affix of the genitive and followed by the emphasizing e.<sup>5</sup>

Examples:

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Insertion of Y after ā :	ā - irde = āyirde
" " " i :	kavi - ār = kaviyār
" " " i :	bali - am = baliyam
" " " ī :	ī - al = īyal, 'srī - am - 'srīyam
" " " o :	no - isu = nōyisu
" " " ai :	dai - endum = daiyendum
" " " e :	tore - am = toreyam
" " " ē :	te - isidam = tēyisidam
for emphasis:	avaḷe - e = avaḷeye

'Y is inserted between the Sanskrit or the Kannada themes with final a and the affix -isu<sup>6</sup> y is also inserted after imitative sounds with final a'.

'When any one of the vowels - u, ū, ri, rī, o, au is succeeded by a vowel, v is inserted. There is no arbitrariness regarding the insertion of y or v in Sanskrit<sup>7</sup>'.

By saying that there is no arbitrariness regarding the insertion of y or v in Sanskrit, Kēsirāja implies the arbitrary insertion of y or v in Kannada.

Examples:

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6 S.D. sūtra - 64.

7

For compulsory insertion:

before u : kuruḍu - udu - kuruḍuvudu  
                  menu - in - a - menuvina  
before ū : pū - in - a - pūvina  
before ṛi : bhrāṛi - e - bhrāṛive  
before ṛī : ṛī - endam - ṛīvendam  
before ō : gō - am - gōvam, gō - indam - gōvindam  
before eu : nau - am - eridan - nauveneridan

In some cases, insertion of v is found after i  
and i also e.g. i - ivu - ivivu, i - idu - ididu.

In Kannada, insertion of g or v is found optional.  
e.g. otte - iṭṭam - ottiṭṭam, otteyiṭṭam  
tagave - appode - tagaveyappode, tagavappode  
mātu - ellam - mātuvellam, mātellam  
sovaḍu - ondu - sovaḍu ondu, sovaḍuondu.

Compulsory insertion in Sanskrit : surasindhuve, vidhuvi-  
villadiruḷ.

There is no sandhi when a word denoting particle (ni-  
pāṭa), emphasis (avadhāraṇe), or doubt (visanke) ending with  
the vowel e, ē, o or ō is followed by a vowel. Sandhi  
does not take place also when a pluta ending word is followed  
by a vowel.  
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Examples:

For particle : arame alalda, elē idalte, are eḍe

For emphasis : nuḍidane aḍu, atane Indram

For suspicion : ivane aḥ, āneyo adriyo

For pluta : rāmā ā endu, kūū endu

'Sandhi does not take place when ō ending words expressing approval or reproach, the word ema expressing consent, and the ā which comes in the place of gadā (surprise) are followed by vowels. Sandhi does not take place in lamentation also.'

Examples:

For approval : entento ōdine

For reproach : eḍaridano avana, muttidanō inde

For consent : singamakkema anjen...

For surprise(a) : pelā amardā inidu gadā

For lamentation : ayyō akkaṭā

'When the words poragu, olagu, posatu, palādu and elādu after dropping their final syllables gu, gu, tu, du and du respectively are followed by a vowel, sandhi does not take place'. For example: pora aḍi, ola aṭṭam, posa aḍake, pala alagu, ela aṇce.

9 S.D. sūtra - 67.

10 S.D. sūtra - 68.

'When the initial varṇa of the second word is doubled and the final varṇa of the first is short, the sandhi that is made is faulty. If the initial varṇa of the second word is a consonant with r, this doubled consonant is considered as slack'<sup>11</sup>.

Here, Kēsirāja gives the faulty sandhi.

Examples:

barisi pradhanam, kullirisi priya

For consonant with r: misuguttirpe trisūlam  
pranayade tripathage

'The persons who are not discriminate allow such usages in prose compositions saying that in prose such strictness is unnecessary. On the other hand, the persons who are discriminating do not allow such usages in both prose and verse compositions'<sup>12</sup>.

Kēsirāja rebukes the persons who are using the sandhis which are considered as faulty in the above sūtra. The faulty sandhi in this case is: making a sandhi between the first-word-final short vowel and the second word-initial

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11 S.D. sūtra - 69.

12 S.D. sūtra - 70.

double consonant. The persons making use of such a sandhi are termed indiscriminate by Kēsirāja. The discriminating persons do not make use of it either in prose or in poetry.

'Sandhi is optional for the word kare when it is followed by al, and ira followed by ade. Sandhi is optional also when a half-verse, quotation from Sanskrit, or when imitative sounds are followed by a vowel. In words followed by ri also, sandhi is optional.<sup>13</sup>

Examples:

kare al, meygareyal

ira ade, irendu

For quotation etc. no sandhi: kēnārthī kō daridrah enutum

for sandhi: na dēve caritam carētenisida

Imitation - no sandhi : kavakkava ele

" sandhi : chummembe, chaṭachaṭemba

ri - no sandhi : esegum rijvāgata

ri - sandhi : sarasamrijuvive

'There is no sandhi when it creates a bad expression.<sup>14</sup>

And also there is no sandhi if it spoils the form.'

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13 S.D. sūtra - 71.

14 S.D. sutra - 72.

The idea expressed here is extra-grammatical. Grammatically there is no bar for sandhi just because the resultant form gives a different meaning or bad meaning, or the current form is spoiled. It is only from the point of view of the reader that he just points out such areas.

Examples:

For faulty sandhi ; taru - ḍakkege - taruḍakkege (X)  
taru - ḍāṇege - taruḍāṇege (X)  
hēlatākōmalāṅgi (X)

For visandhi: ponnandalam

'If there are two r's, there should not be sandhi, as  
15  
it will be harsh to the ear.'

This is also in line with the above sūtra. That is, he is talking in general, not from the point of view of grammar.

Examples: rēphadvitvaḥ: bandarrāmar, dēvarrakṣisuge

Harsh for the ear: vidvitstriyar

Such sandhis should be avoided, according to Kēsirāja.

'There is sandhi when the e of emphasis gives the sense of action and the particle are giving the sense of proximity,  
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15 S.D. sūtra - 73.

is used in the sense of proximity, is used in the sense of  
the part of the object.<sup>16</sup>

Examples:

aniyoga sandhi : māmāranalladilla, melligeyalladilla

niyoga visandhi : māmāranade

are of part : dhareyareyam

Niyoga means 'action'. aniyoga means 'no action'.  
aniyogavyavahriti' means using it though there is no ne-  
cessity'. In the examples 'māmāranallade - illa' and  
'melligeyallade - illa' according to Kēsirāja e at the  
end of the first words is for emphasis. But here it has no  
work. There is sandhi - i.e. the elision of e. Hence, it  
is 'aniyoga sandhi'.

In 'māmāranade - inidappa' e has work. Hence, it  
'niyoga visandhi'.

In 'dhareyare - am' according to sūtra 66 there should  
not be sandhi. Here, its meaning is 'half' and not 'many'.  
Hence, there is sandhi. All this about 'are' amounts to  
this that there is no sandhi are used in the sense of 'many',  
whereas there is sandhi if used in the sense of 'half'. Such  
statements will be difficult for acceptance for modern lin-  
guistics.

SANDHI IN CONSONANTS

'The first varṇas of the varga excepting c, ṭ become  
17  
the third varṇas in samāsa'.

In the samāsa k, t, p become g, d, b.

For example: paḷa - kannaḍa - paḷagannaḍa

kaṇ - teravu - kaṇderevu

kaṇ - pari - kaṇbari

But, he is aware of the exceptions to this rule. The expressions like talekaṭṭu, besekōl edupandi.

Any way, he is aware of such expressions. But in spite of them he has made a rule knowing well that in a language, such exceptions are bound to be there.

c, ṭ do not change to j, ḍ.

For example: kaḍu - cāgi - kaḍucāgi, kaḍu - ṭakku - kaḍuṭakku

In the next sūtra, he gives another type of exceptions: k, t, p coming after ondu, eradu, after r substituted for r, ḷ (ra ḷa) coming in place of d, will not change to  
18  
g, d, b.

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17 S.D. sūtra - 75.

18 S.D. sūtra - 76.

Examples:

For ondu : orkkaisi, orpidi  
 For eradu : irkōḍiyum, irtalegōjam  
 For rofr : mārkorālabhairavam, mārtaḷe,  
 ērpettarerpēttaram  
 For l or d : kālkiḥcu, kōḷkuṭṭi, nālṭuḍuḡuṇi,  
 nālṭaḡaraṇam

The 'linkage' - am in 'raḷakkam' also permits kil of  
 keḷaḡan e.g. kilḷere.

'Whether there is a vowel or unmutated consonant, the  
 following p becomes v in samāsa. By 'bahulaḡrahaṇa' it  
 applies to sentence also.<sup>19</sup>

Examples:

eḷe - pere - eḷavere, miḷirpa - eḷavalli -  
 miḷirpeḷavalli, beḷe - pola - belevola

p v after natural consonant: bāy - pare - bōyvare  
 bē - perasi - bēverasi  
No v for mutated consonant : kil - paḍe - kilpaḍe,  
 ir - bāl - irbāl

19 S.D. sutra - 77.

There is no v in some cases where there is unmutated consonant, and vowel.

p - palpareguttidam, pūpunumbu

b - kaṇḇiḍu, kaṇḇēṭam

m - pālmene, bālmone

By 'bahulagrahaṇe' v in sentence:

tamarūrge - pōpa - tamarūrgevōpa

kelasakke - barpa - kelasakkevarpa

'S following the consonants other than y and l, becomes, mostly e. In some cases, there is j; in some other cases where it is numeral, it is always ch.<sup>20</sup>

s c : nun - sarada - nuncarada

s j : pon - surige - ponjurige

s ch : padinen - sasira - padinenchāsire

optionally s remains as s: - e.g. kaṇṣōlam paravaṇsuravadhu, pavaṇsari, kīḷsarige, beḷsari.

No change for y and l: bāysavige, melsaram

By 'bahulegrahaṇa', s after a vowel also becomes e or j.

e.g. muccere, muccēl, tuḍujodar.

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'tuḍujodar' is the correct example for the sūtra as there is a vowel in the final position of the first word. But the same is not true with the other two. Because, the two components in them will be muc-sere and muc-sāl. The form muc-is a mutation form of mūru. Hence, the examples refer to the mutation form of mūru. If so, it is according to the rule viz., occurrence of consonant other than y and l. Hence, no necessity of 'bahulagrahana'.

'If there is a short vowel in the first word, and a vowel follows, n, ṇ, l, y and ḷ are doubled. If the first vowel is long or the word is indeclinable, or polysyllabic, there is no doubling.<sup>21</sup>'

Examples:

nn : pon - uḷlavane - ponnullavane

nn : keṇ - am - kaṇṇam

ll : kal - ellam - kellellam

yy : mey - a - meyya

ḷḷ : muḷ - agi - muḷḷagi

no doubling where long vowel:

n : tān - e - tāne, mīn - āgi - mīnāgi

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21 S.D. sūtra - 79.

n ; nān - an - nānam, jāṇ - am - jāṇam  
l : kēl - am - kēlam, kōl - am - kōlam  
y : tēy - orval - tēyorval, bāy - oḷ - bāyoḷ  
ḷ ; āḷ - āḷ - āḷāḷ, tōḷ - āṭam - tōḷāṭam

indeclinable: kali - dal - ivam - kalidalivam

polysyllabic word: saraṇ - arum - saraṇarum

paraḷ ellam - paraḷellam

In some indeclinables, there is doubling:

in - um - innum, in - āvudu - innāvudu

Here, the polysyllabic means words with more than one syllables.

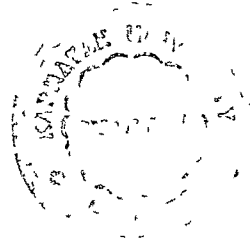
After giving the rules in the above sūtras, Kēsirāja gives the exceptions to them in the next two sūtras: 'If after the root ending in n, ṇ, l, y, ḷ, -al comes, there is no doubling. After -y ending roots sandhi is optional. After the roots uy, ney, suy, bay, even if -al comes, and vowel follows, doubling is compulsory'.<sup>22</sup>

Examples:

For no doubling: en - al - takkam - enaltakkam

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22 S.D. sūtra - 80.



tin - al - tinal, kol - al - kolal

For y: poy - al um - poyalum - poyyalum

gey - al - um - geyalum - geyyalum

According to the previous sūtra, even if the initial vowel is long, though it is polysyllabic, if -al or any other vowel, comes after āray, optionally it is doubled.

āray - al um - ārayalum - ārayyalum

ārayim - ārayyim, āraye - ārayye

compulsory doubling: uyyalum, neyyalum

suyyalum, bayyalum

Vowel of tense suffix: uyyam, neyyam

suyyam, bayyam

'Even if the suffix comes after the negative root, or ade comes after the past tense form, n, n, y, l, <sup>23</sup>l are doubled always.'

The statement: 'No doubling if the previous word contains a long vowel, or it is polysyllabic' continues here also.

Examples:

For suffix : en - am - ennam, en - ar - ennar  
bay - evu - bayyevu

For ade : en - ade - ennade, tin - ade - tinnade

By the statement 'also', there is no doubling for kal  
e.g. kal - al - kalal, kal - ade - kalade

Now, let us see what is meant by sandhi. Kēsīrāja defines it as 'the joining of two or more varnas.' The etymological meaning of Sandhi 'to join' from sam dha' with noun - formative suffix i. Another equivalent for sandhi viz., samhitā is also from the same root. So, sandhi means pronouncing two (or more words) words without any base between them. Pāṇini defines samhitā as 'parassannikarṣa<sup>24</sup>ssamhita'. The explanation of Patanjali on this sūtra is: After pronouncing the first varṇa for the pronunciation of the second one, if half the mātrā time required usually is not taken is called the sandhi.

Kēsīrāja groups sandhi phenomenon into many types. Firstly, there is a binary division into i) internal, and ii) external sandhi. The internal sandhi is between the base and the suffix. For example, mātu - am - matam.

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24 Aṣṭādhyāyī - 1.4. 109.

Sandhi that is taking place between two words is called external sandhi. For example, avana - ātanam = avanātanam.

Secondly, he divides the sandhi into (i) vowel Sandhi and (ii) consonant Sandhi. Vowel Sandhi is that one where varṇas in question are vowels only e.g. avanan - ivana = avanivana. Consonant sandhi is where one of the varṇas in question is a consonant. For example, Jāṇ - uṇḥu = jāṇuṇḥu. Technically, four types can be recognised in Sandhi. viz., (i) Vowel - Vowel sandhi, (ii) vowel - consonant Sandhi, (iii) consonant - vowel sandhi and (iv) consonant - consonant sandhi. First one is the vowel sandhi and the rest are consonant sandhis. He also has doubling (dvīta) sandhi where the consonant in conjunction with a vowel is doubled. For example pon - ulla - ponnulla.

There is another division in Sandhi viz., (i) Lōpa-sandhi, (ii) āgama sandhi and (iii) ādēsa sandhi. Lopa-sandhi is that where one of the vowels is dropped. As this elision takes place only in case of vowels, it is also called 'svara~~lo~~pasandhi', e.g. avana - ātanam = avanātanam.

Āgama Sandhi is that where a new varṇa comes between the vowels without affecting the form of the word e.g. ā - irda = ayirda. i - al = iyal.

In ādēśa sandhi a different form is substituted e.g. kilpoṭṭe for kelagaṇa - poṭṭe.

After considering the definition etc., of Sandhi, all the material on Sandhi treated by Kēsirāja may be put in the following manner:

(I) Areas where sandhi does not take place:

(1) There is no sandhi if a vowel comes after a pluta vowel e.g. kū - endu = kūendu.

(2) If ri and lri come after the vowels like a etc., there is no sandhi e.g. a rikāram.

(3) If after ā, a or ai or au come, no sandhi takes place e.g. ā arasam, ā aisvaryam, ā aunyatyam.

(4) If a vowel follows the vowel ending particle, no sandhi takes place e.g. etc., idalte etc. are ede.

(5) If a vowel comes after the a ending forms of posatu, poragu, olagu, paladu and eladu there is no sandhi e.g. pora adi, ola aṭṭam etc.,

(6) There is no sandhi when o ending words expressing consent etc. (ref. sūtra 67) are followed by vowels e.g. ententō ōdina. muttidanō inde. ayyō akkaṭā.

All these are the examples of vowels where sandhi does not take place.

There is no sandhi in respect of consonants in the following environments.

- (7) In the samāsas, if the c and t are in the initial position of the second word e.g. kaḍucāgi, kaḍuṭakku.
- (8) If after l and r which are as a result of mutation, k, t, p are coming, they do not change to g, d, b, e.g. mārkōl kāl̥kiccu, kil̥poṭte.
- (9) If it is intolerable to the ears, e.g. a seganitā.
- (10) If it jars on the ears e.g. bandarrāmar.

Barring the above places, sandhi takes place regularly.

Then there are the cases where sandhi is optional. That is, where both sandhi and no sandhi are found. Sandhi is optional in the following environments.

- (1) If ade comes after ir: e.g. ira ade - irade.
- (2) If al comes after kare, e.g. kare al, kareyal.
- (3) After the words gaḍa etc., nīnallade āvam, nīnallēdavam.
- (4) In the sentence: e.g. kaḥ kēnārthī kō daridraḥ enitanitum (no sandhi)  
na dēva caritam caretēnisiday (sandhi).

The description of the treatment of sandhi by Kēsirāja reveals that it is a mixture of both formal and non-formal aspects. Sometimes, he takes form into consideration, sometimes meaning into consideration. As such, it suffers from the point of view of precision. An attempt will be made to present the sandhi phenomenon on the formal basis.

Sandhi rules on the basis of the form are as follows:

- 1) After the dyssyllabic words ending in a, i, u and having a long vowel, if a vowel comes, the previous vowel is dropped.

e.g. dēva - emba - dēvemba

bhōga - isu - bhōgisu ~~bhōgisu~~ ? ~~bhōgisu~~

lēsu - ellam - lēsellam.

- 2) After the dyssyllabic words ending in a, i, u have a consonant cluster before the final vowel or if a vowel comes, the previous vowel is dropped.

e.g. hattu - eṇtu - hattenttu

alli - irdam - allirdam

bhanga - isu - bhangisu

- 3) After the polysyllabic words ending in vowel, if another vowel comes, previous one is dropped.

e.g. kramade - āytu - kramadāytu.

īśvarana - olavu - īśvaranolavu

māḍidevu - olpam - māḍidevolpam

4) After the monosyllabic word or dysyllabic word containing short vowel in the beginning, if a vowel comes, either y or w is inserted.

a) After the front vowels, if another vowel comes, y is inserted:

e.g. kali - ā - kaliyar

pase - irdam - paseyirdam

ā - irdam - āyirdam

ī - al - īyal

tē - isu - tēyisu

b) After the back and central vowels, if a another vowel comes, w is inserted.

e.g. vidhu - idu - vidhuvidu

manu - ina - manuvina

pū - ine - pūvina

kartri - āda - kartrivāda

5) The second component-initial k t p g, d, b. In the compound, (k, t, p, between two vowels are changed to g, d, b.)

e.g. paḷa - kannada - paḷagannada

ali - - kavi - aliḡavi

kaṇ - teravu - kaṇderavu

pāṇe - kaṭṭum - paṇegaṭṭum

kaṇ - pari - kaṇbari

Exceptions: talekaṭṭu, besekōl, ēdupandi.

6) p, b, m between two vowels changed to v or between y, r, l, ḷ and vowel.

e.g. eḷa - paṇe - eḷaveṇe

beḷe - pola - beḷevola

kaḍu - beḷpu - kaḍuveḷpu

maṇa - maṇega - maṇevaṇega

bāy - paṇe - bāyvaṇe

bēr - peṇsi - bēṇveṇsi

meḷ - mātu - meḷvātu

bāl - peṇam - bālveṇam

7) After the words ending in consonants other than y and l, if the fricative comes, it is changed to an affricate.

e.g. nuṇ - sara - nuṇcara

in - sara - īncara

pon - surige - ponjurige

mun - sūr - munjūr

nūr - sāsira - nūrcāsira

ir - sāsira - ircāsira

8) If after the consonant ending word, a vowel comes, then both are combined.

e.g. jāṇ - unṭu - jāṇunṭu

9) After the monosyllabic word ending in a consonant and having a short vowel, if a vowel comes, then the consonant is doubled.

e.g. kaṇ - aṁ - kaṇṇaṁ

pon - uḷḷava - ponnuḷḷava

kaḷ eḷḷaṁ - kaḷḷeṁ

meṇ - a - meṇṇa

muḷ - āgi - muḷḷāgi

CHAPTER VI

MORPHOLOGY

Morphology is the study of morphemes. The term morpheme is defined as 'The smallest individually meaningful element<sup>1</sup> in the utterances of the language'. Morphemes, like words, are the meaningful units in a language. To this extent, the morpheme and the word go together. The next requirement of the morpheme is that it must be the minimum unit. That is, those forms which can not be broken further with meaning are the minimum meaningful units. For example, the word siritana. This word, according to our definition contains two morphemes, as the whole unit can be further divided into two units; each having its own meaning viz., siri and -tana. These two units siri and -tana are considered as morphemes, as it is not possible to further divide them into smaller units with meaning. On the same line, the forms like gida, tinnu, ōdu etc. are also morphemes. Here, then is, the parting plane for morpheme and the word. The above example siritana is a word; gida, tinnu etc. also are words. The main distinction between the morpheme and the word is that the morpheme is the smallest unit with meaning; whereas the word need not be the smallest unit. Hence, the word may contain more than one morphemes. Morphemes are

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1 C.F.Hockett - p.123.

the parts of words.

Another difference between the word and the morpheme is: The word always represents only one form; whereas the morpheme may represent more than one forms. The forms like bhakta, patha, jana etc. are words as well morphemes. So each form is a word. But in the examples;

satpatha - sat - patha

sadbhakta - sad - bhakta

sanmārga - san - mārga

sajjana - sat - jana

the form sat - appears to have undergone a change, which is noticed in the variation of that form viz., sat-, sad-, san-, saj- etc. The important feature here is that this variation can be defined. Each of these various forms has a definite environment of its own, where in that environment no other form occurs. Hence, instead of assigning the morphemic status to all these forms, only one representative form is taken as a morpheme, and all the forms are considered as allomorphs (positional variants). In the above examples, the form (sat-) is taken as a morpheme, and others viz., sat-, sad-, san-, and saj- are allomorphs. The environment of each of these forms is: sat- occurs before voiceless stops, (viz. p in patha) sad- occurs before voiced

stops (viz. b in bhakta), san- occurs before a nasal (viz. m in mārga) and saj- occurs before j- in jana. As such each of these forms is having a predictable environment. The forms occurring in the predictable environments become the sub-members. The morpheme being the class of forms differs with a word which represents only one form.

These morphemes are broadly divided into i) Free morphemes, and ii) Bound morphemes. Any form with meaning which can occur independently is a free morpheme. The words siri, haḍuga, tinnu etc. are free morphemes as they can occur freely. Those forms which can not occur independently, but only in union with some free form is called bound morpheme.<sup>2</sup> The form -tana in siritana is such a bound morpheme. Similarly, -ti (in goudati) -gitti (in kaṣasagitti), -ake (in haraka), -annu etc. (in gidavannu etc.), -tt- (in nōduttane) etc. are bound morphemes.

The free morphemes may be divided into i) Nouns - the forms which can be declined, ii) the roots - the forms which can be conjugated, and iii) indeclinables which do not undergo any change.

The bound morphemes are usually divided, depending upon

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2 Morphology - Nida. p.81.

their function, into two: i) Derivative forms - those which form the words. For example, hiri + tana = hiritana. Kunta + i = kunti etc. ii) Inflectional forms - which change the class of the base form and usually restrict the further growth of the morphemes. For example, - aru in hudugaru, -inda in maneyinda, etc. The suffixes indicating the number, gender, case and tense are all inflectional suffixes in Kannada. Based on the above, the section on morphology is divided into two divisions: 1) Noun - morphology - which includes nouns, adjectives, derivational forms etc. 2) verb-morphology - includes the roots, their classification, tense-suffixes, adverbs etc.

The treatment of noun morphology of Kēsīrāja can be started with the sūtra: 'Vibhakti is so called because it divides the meaning of the word. It is also known as pratyaya (suffix). Base (prakṛti) takes its position before the suffix. These two join into a word.'

Now, according to Kēsīrāja the forms which are affixed to the free forms are called affixes. The derivation of the term 'pratyaya' is: the form which comes after the base form, is called a suffix<sup>4</sup>, or 'that which helps to understand

3 S.D. sūtra - 45.

4 Pratyēti paścyādāgacchati iti pratyah paraḥ - T.P.5.7.

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is pratyaya'. Of the two, the first one is based on the meaning.

Are the terms vibhakti and pratyaya synonymous ? Obviously, Kēsirāja has used the two as synonyms. According to him, as these forms divide the meaning in the words, they are called vibhakti (case). This case-relation is expressed through certain forms which are called pratyayas. The abstract relation expressed by cases is denoted explicitly by the suffixal forms. Pāṇini has divided the suffixes into two, i) 'sup' - the suffixes which come after the nouns and ii) 'tiñ' - the forms which come after the verbal roots.

To the nominal bases mara, deva etc. the -am suffix is added. Hence they are nouns. If to the verbal bases nōḍu, bēḍu etc. the suffixes like -id-am etc. are added, we get the words like nōḍidam, bēḍidam etc. The suffix -am dropped, the forms, nōḍida, bēḍida etc. are nouns. Indeclinables and the noun portion in the compound to which case suffix is added is called a word.

The nouns are of three kinds, i) common noun - (rūḍha or niscita nāma), ii) noun having self-evident meaning

5 Prayāyate arthāḥ iti pratyayaḥ - T.P.

(anvartha nāma), iii) proper noun - (śukita nāma)<sup>6</sup>.

The common noun is commonly known, and used in a conventional sense. For example, nelam, polam, jalam, calam etc. The common noun may contain one to five syllables. For example, pū, maram, pottage, kavaligē, kaṭṭavettige.

The noun follows either the meaning or the quality. The examples for the nouns following quality are: dāni, dayāpara, abhimāni, parākrami and so on. The examples of the nouns following the meaning are: hillegālam, nidumūgam, kusigoralam etc.

The proper names are those christened, irrespective of whether they convey some meaning or not. For example, Kāṭa, Kasava, Mācha, Māra etc.

The nouns are divided in this way into three categories. In common noun, it is said, they are used according to convention. Every word is used according to convention - it may be age-long convention or modern convention. It is only due to the convention that the words get the meaning. In some cases, the conventional etymology might have been untraceable. In some others, it may be naming the things which appear to be expressive. In some other cases, a

particular individual is given a particular name, for identification by a group of people. It will be followed by all the people.

In the next sūtra, Kēśirāja explains the term root and its various kinds: 'The one that does not express verbal action, and has no case terminations, but embodies meaning, is a nominal base (linga). It is of four kinds: i) verbal forms (krits), ii) nominal bases with derivative suffixes, iii) compound nouns and (iv) simple nouns.'

The form which does not express action, which does not contain any of the case suffixes, and which is not devoid of any meaning is called the noun.

Now, coming to the definition of the noun by Kēśirāja, we can see that he defines it negatively. 'That which does not express verbal action, and has no case-terminations, but embodies meaning is noun.' There must be meaning to make a particular form into a morpheme. To establish the different entity of the noun, he says, it does not express verbal action. ~~are roots~~. This will not be a safe criterion for establishing the noun as an independent entity. The next characteristic of the noun, according to him, is that

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the forms without case termination are nouns. Here, is the most important criterion, though not recognized by Kēsirāja. He says there are no case suffixes in the noun form. This will not suffice, because there may be many other forms which do not have case suffixes, but are not nouns. For example, ghammene, ghalilene etc. have no case suffixes still are not nouns.

From the modern point of view, the definition of a noun can be: 'The forms which can take case-suffixes are nouns.'<sup>8</sup> It is not whether a particular form is having a case-suffix or not, but its potentiality to have it, that makes a noun. That is, the forms capable of taking the case-suffixes may be termed as nouns. For example, gida, kuṇṭa, hasiru etc. can take any of the case-suffixes like gidavannu, kuṇṭaninda, hasirinalli etc. Hence, they are nouns.

These forms are further divided into roots and non-roots. These roots may be either i) noun-roots, or ii) verb-roots. Those which are capable of taking case-suffixes are noun-roots. Those which express action are verb-roots.

Now, about the concept of 'linga' according to

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Kēsirāja. In this sūtra, Kēsirāja uses the term 'līṅga' in the sense of nominal base. In other places, he has used it to denote gender also.<sup>9</sup>

The definition of 'līṅga' (the nominal base) given by Kēsirāja above, is in line with the one given by Kātantra grammar. There it is defined as 'dhātu vibhaktivarjitam arthōpetam līṅgam'.<sup>10</sup> That is, that which is devoid of the verbal roots, case-suffixes, and has a meaning is called līṅga. 'The definition given by Pāṇini is: arthavāt adhātuh apratyah prātipadikam'.<sup>11</sup> The forms 'līṅga' is used as the synonym of 'prātipadika' in Kannada grammars, when it is used to designate the nominal base. In Kēsirāja, the term līṅga is used in a restricted sense to designate only the nominal base. In fact, the term līṅga has a wider significance. Usually, it includes both nominal forms and verbal forms. Because, the general definition of līṅga is any form with meaning.<sup>12</sup> This līṅga is of two kinds: that

9 S.D. sūtra - 98 and 101.

10 Kātantra Vyākaraṇa - II. 1.1.

11 Aṣṭādhyāyī - I-II-45.

12 The term prātipadika is Pāṇiniyan and the term 'līṅga' is found in Kātantra Grammar. see Chakravarti, p.171.

13 arthavallīṅgam - Śabda - sūtra - 8.

form which is used with the seven case-suffixes, three number suffixes, is the nominal base; and the form which is used with three pronominal suffixes, number suffixes, three tense etc. is called the verbal root. Hence the verbal form also is called <sup>14</sup>liṅga. But, Kāśirāja excluded the verbal roots from the designation of liṅga. He has used another term prakṛti (explanation of prakṛti etc. will be given in the next sūtra).

The nominal bases are of four kinds: 1) verbal forms, 2) nominal bases with derivative suffixes, 3) compound nouns, and 4) simple nouns.

The examples for the verbal forms are: māḍida, bēḍida, kūḍida, nōḍida etc. Though these forms have verbal roots in them, the resultant forms can take the case suffixes. Hence, they are nouns. If we add case-suffixes the forms will be māḍidam, māḍidanam, māḍidanam etc.

The examples for the nominal bases with derivative suffixes are: paḍevaḷḷa, maḍivaḷḷa, sejjevaḷḷa, etc., Here the base forms are paḍe, māḍi and sejje. For this the suffixes which are called derivative suffixes, are added and these forms are created. These are nouns because these take the case-terminations. For example, maḍivaḷḷam,

14 Śabda. vritti on sūtra - i.

maḍivallaṇam, maḍivallaṇim etc.

The compound-nouns are formed by compounding two or more free forms. The resultant form will behave, for all grammatical purposes, as a single noun. The examples are: teṅgāli, immēvū, muṅgay, maragiduballi. The case suffixes are added to these like teṅgāli, teṅgāliyam, teṅgāliyin etc.

Simple noun is any free form that takes case-suffixes. For example, arasa, harina etc. By affixing the case-suffixes we can get the forms like arasam, arasanam, arasanim and so on.

In the next sūtra words ending in -y, -r etc. are given. 'Most of the Kannada words end in -y, -r, -l, -ṇ, 15 -n, -ḷ, -ḻ and -ṛ'.

Most of the words in Kannada are consonant ending. There too, majority of the words end in -y, -r, -ṛ, -l, -ṇ, -n, -ḷ, -ḻ. The examples are:

-y : kay, mey, bay, koy etc.

-r : nār, bēṛ, tēṛ, bemaṛ, usir etc.

-l : pāl, kēḷ, sāl, nūḷ etc.

-ṇ : pavaṇ, nāṇ, jāṇ etc.

- n : pon, ben, min, etc.
- l : baḷ, taḷ, miduḷ etc.
- r : eṛ, baṣiṛ, peṣaṛ etc.
- ḷ : bīḷ, bāḷ, tēḷ etc.

Some of the words end in vowels. For example, karu, taṇu, anu etc.

In the sūtra, Kēsirāja has used the term mostly (piri-du). What was the necessity of using this term? It is a fact that the Dravidian words, mostly, end in consonants. And Kannada also had the same structure. But in due course, this structure of the words began to change, adding a vowel at the end of the words. By the time of Kēsirāja most of the words which were ending in consonants previously were ending in consonants. Later on, by the addition of euphonic vowel, they became vowel - ending. The changing structure of these words was known to Kēsirāja, which can be seen from the phrase 'asvaravidhiyim'. Still, his conservatism did not accept this change. He wanted to preserve the old forms. Hence, he included many words in his list, but, which were ending in vowels. Like a true descriptive grammarian, he listed the words ending in consonants.

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16 Whatever be the length and complication of Dravidian words, they may invariably be traced to monosyllabic roots' - Caldwell p.196.

enumerated above. It is a fact that majority of words in Kannada were having these consonants at the end. He would have added other factors like, i) which consonants begin the words, ii) whether consonant - clusters come in the beginning or not, iii) which are clusters permissible in the medial position etc.

In the next sūtra he notes the dropping of the final syllable in the following words. 'naravu, neravu, dēvara baravu, taravu, eṭtaravu, noḷavu - these words according to some people, drop the final syllable'<sup>17</sup>.

In all these words, the final u is dropped. Then he gives the examples naram - naravu, neram - neravu, baram - baravu etc. The intention of Kēsirāja here is that the final syllable is dropped.

The final syllable was dropped optionally. And a section of the speakers were pronouncing them without dropping the final syllable. That is, at the time of Kēsirāja, both, the forms were in vogue.

Kēsirāja had divided the nominal bases into four kinds. In the next sūtra, he explains the first kind, viz.,  
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17 S.D. sūtra - 56.



verbal nouns: 'When the suffixes of the verbs (of third person singular) with their augments in the past tense and future tense are removed, we get krits, i.e. verbal bases. We do not similarly get them from verbs which are in the present tense, or in the imperative mood, and in the verbs of second and first persons, case-suffixes can not be added to such verbs.'

Verbal base is formed out of the forms which are indicating past or future tenses, out of which case suffix is removed. The present tense forms, imperative forms, and first and second person forms do not become nominal bases. Hence, no case suffixes is added to them. The example for the nominal base out of past tense form is nalida<sup>18</sup>am. From this, the suffix -am is removed and the remaining nalida becomes the nominal base. The example for the future tense which forms the nominal base is: bēḍuvam, poyvam etc. The suffix -am is removed and the remaining form bēḍuva, poyva are nominal bases. The forms māḍidapam, nōḍidapam (present tense), kuḍu, tuḍu, (imperative), bēḍiday (second person singular) bēḍidir (second person plural), pāḍuven (first person singular), pāḍuvevu (first person plural) etc. do not form nominal bases.

The examples given for the nominal bases from past and future tenses contain the base plus tense suffix plus person and number suffix. For example, *nalidam* contains the base *nali* - plus the past tense suffix *-da*-plus masculine singular suffix *-am*. That means there are two suffixes: i) tense suffix and ii) gender-number suffix. In the explanation it is said that tense suffix ('*vibhaktigalam - kriyā vibhaktigalm*') should be removed (*kaleye*).

When all the suffixes excepting the past and future tense suffixes are removed, what remains is a verbal nominal base. From the verbal form, the inflectional suffixes (*ākyāta<sup>h</sup> pratyaya*) should be removed. These suffixes that are to be removed are, *-am, -ar, -ay, -ir, -en, -evu*.<sup>19</sup>

It is a simple fact to state how verbal nouns are formed. Only two kinds of verbal forms are responsible for nominal bases. One is the past participle (*bhūta-kridvāci*) form, and the other is the future participle (*bhaviṣyat kridvāci*) form. Participle forms are formed by the addition of tense-suffix to the verbal root. If past tense suffix is there, it is past participle noun, and if the future tense suffix is there, it is future participle noun. As these participle forms can take case-suffixes,

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these can be called nominal bases. For example, nalidam, nalidanam, nalidanam etc. and poyvam, poyvanam, poyvanam etc.

In the next sūtra, Kēśirāja gives another type of verbal nouns: 'verbal nominal bases can be formed by the addition of the suffix -isu to Sanskrit abstract nouns, which also contain the sense of verbs'<sup>20</sup>.

If to the Sanskrit abstract nouns like bhāva, bhāga etc. the suffix -isu is added, they become verbal roots for Kannada. By the addition of verbal suffixes to these, the verbal forms will be available. Among these, the past and future tenses, as stated above, after the removal of the verbal suffixes, will be verbal nominal bases.

This is not different from the previous sūtra. Here, the only addition is the another type of verbal roots that are formed by the addition of the -isu suffix to the Sanskrit abstract nouns. After the addition of this suffix, they behave like the rest. For example:

bhāva - isu = bhāvisu - bhāvisida etc.

bhāga - isu = bhāgisi - bhāgisida etc.

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20 S.D. sūtra - 84.

Further variety of the verbal nominal base is given in the next sūtra: 'verbs and sentences when used as nouns by great poets, become nominal bases. Such usages are found<sup>21</sup> in the ancient works'.

The whole sentence, if it is used as a noun by the great poets, can become the nominal base. This can be seen from the ancient works. Following are the examples:

For action: namōstugalirpandadi.<sup>22</sup> Here the whole phrase 'namōstugal' forms the nominal base.

For sentence: āldanaṣkeyduvotteradēvam. Here the whole sentence is treated as a noun. Similarly 'ahimsā paramō dharmah' etc..

In some of the following sūtras, Kēsirāja explains the procedure of formation and otherwise of the nominal bases, from Sanskrit words: 'The crude nouns after discarding the numbers and the particles of the Sanskrit lexicon are used as nominal bases in Kannada and are called Sama-<sup>23</sup>Sanskrita.

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21 S.D. sūtra -85..

22 Illustration for S.D. sūtra - 85.

23 S.D. sutra - 90.

Excepting numerals and indeclinables, the other soft (sulalita) words of Sanskrit lexicon, are adjusted to Kannada structure to form the nominal bases. These are called the 'sama-Saṁskṛita' words. The examples of Sama-Saṁskṛita words are kāmam, vasantam, bhīmam etc.

These Sama-Saṁskṛita words should not be used with Kannada words to form compounds. The compounds like aragu-kumāram, keladisamētam, parigatanage, mukhatāware etc. are forbidden (More treatment of this can be found in the section on tatsama).

'Sanskrit particles, the pronouns beginning with tyad, 'satriṇāntas, the particles with final -at, can not form nominal bases in Kannada, unless they are used as compounds with other words.

Indeclinables, the pronouns with tyad etc. 'satriṇāntas, unless they are compounded in Sanskrit, can not be natural nominal bases in Kannada.

The indeclinables like antar, behir, muhur, punar, īsat etc. can not get case-suffixes in Kannada, for, we can not say antaram, antarim, antarge etc. First, the two

Sanskrit words, one of them being the indeclinable, should be compounded. For example, antarmukha, bahirmukha, punah-pāka, prāṭhikāla etc. It is only to these forms that Kannada suffixes are added. For example, antarmukham, antarmukhaṇam etc.

The Sanskrit pronouns like tad, yad, asmad, yusmad etc. first, should be used in Sanskrit compounds like tadvena, tetpura etc. Kannada suffixes are to be added only to these compound forms. For example, tadvanam, tadvanamam etc.

Satriñāntas are present tense forms like raṇat, raṇat, bhramat etc. These should be compounded in Sanskrit itself like raṇatkankana, raṇatkōkila, bhramadbhramara and so on. Kannada case-suffixes are added only to these compounds. For example, raṇatkankaṇam, raṇatkankaṇamam etc.

The restriction while using Sanskrit forms in Kannada is, one Sanskrit and other Kannada word should not be used in compounds. The indeclinables, pronouns, present tense forms etc. of Sanskrit are not to be used in Kannada independently. That is, these forms will not form nominal bases in Kannada. Only the simple nouns, or compound nouns of Sanskrit can become nominal bases in Kannada.

'The Sanskrit numbers upto ten will become declinable

bases only when they form parts of compounds, or are in conjunction with affixes. When the final ā of Sanskrit feminine nouns is changed to e or a, they become declinable bases in Kannada.<sup>25</sup>

The idea of the sūtra 90 is made more clear as regards the numerals. The Sanskrit numbers from ēka to daśa will not be nominal bases in Kannada naturally. To become nominal base they are to be either compounded or added with case-suffixes. The Sanskrit -ā ending feminine forms, when modified into -a ending or -e ending words optionally, they become the nominal bases.

The examples for the numeral compounds are: ēkāṅga, dvimukha, trilōka etc. are nominal bases in the forms ēkāṅgaṁ, ēkāṅganam etc. Numerals with the suffixes are dvitaya, catuska etc. The feminine -ā ending Sanskrit forms, which become -e ending in Kannada are: bāle, māle, sāle, nidre etc. Then there are some words which have both the forms. For example, grīvā - grive - grīva, bhikṣā - bhikṣe - bhikṣa. To all the above forms the case-suffixes can be added in Kannada. Hence, they are nominal bases.

The idea of the previous sūtra is extended in the

next sutra: 'when the final -ā of Sanskrit nouns is changed into e, those nouns become declinable nominal bases in Kannada. We also get Kannada nominal bases, when the final ī and ū of Sanskrit nouns change to i and u. Monosyllabic Sanskrit words like jyā etc. are used as nominal bases in Kannada as they are, i.e. without any change.'

The idea as to how the Sanskrit -ā, -ī, -ū ending words are adjusted in Kannada is given here. Similarly, the behaviour of Sanskrit monosyllabic words also, is given. The examples are:

For a e - vadha-vadhe; abhilāṣa - abhilāṣe etc.

For ī i - Laxmī - Laxmi, Geurī - Geuri etc.

For ū u - Sarayū - sarayu, kharjū - kharju etc.

All these modified forms are nominal bases in Kannada.

Monosyllabic Sanskrit words form the nominal bases in Kannada like jyā, mā, strī, shrī etc.

'Sanskrit nouns with final a, i, u and ri generally remain as they are in Kannada and used as nominal bases. Final ri gets sometimes changed into āra. The Sanskrit word dhātri becomes dhātā in Kannada. The word vidhātri is

<sup>27</sup>  
used as vidhātra'.

-a, -i, -u and -ri ending words are naturally nominal bases. By the term 'mostly' (pīna) it is meant that sometimes for ri, āra comes. Examples for:

- a : bhuvana, nalina, nayana, sayana etc.
- i : rati, pati, yati, mati, ravi, giri etc.
- u : pasu, sisu, ripu, bhānu, dhēnu etc.
- ri : pitri, sāvitrī, nētrī, hōtrī etc.
- ri - āra: savitāra, nētāra, hōtāra, kartāra etc.

It is seen that some words like nētrī etc. are having both the forms. Hence, it is difficult to say which was more in vogue. Still, it appears that nētāra, kartāra etc. were used more frequently than the other set.

'The final ri of pitri is changed into -ara, the final i of sakhi is changed into a as in sakha, when they are used as nominal bases in Kannada.'

It is alright if for ri in pitri, the -ara comes and the form will be pitara. The forms with suffixes added will

27 S.D. sūtra - 94.

28 S.D. sūtra - 95.

be pitaram, etc. In the next half he says that the final i of sakhi is changed to a like sakha to form the nominal base in Kannada. It amounts to the fact that the Sanskrit word sakhi to form the nominal base in Kannada, becomes sakhe. But this is far from the fact. Both the forms sakhi and sakha can be used in Kannada in their original form. If it was the derivation of the word sakhi and sakha in Sanskrit, it is a different matter. But how can it be said that the word sakhi to form nominal base in Kannada becomes sakha ? There are many more words like this given by Kēsirāja.

'The Sanskrit nominal bases ending in consonants are made to end in -a or -u, with the doubling of the final consonant or their final consonants are dropped, when the Sanskrit nouns become Kannada nominal bases.'<sup>29</sup>

Treatment of the vowel ending words over, Kēsirāja now gives, the modification of the consonant ending words of Sanskrit into Kannada. All such words get a vowel at the end and that vowel is either a or u. Before this vowel is added, that final consonant is doubled.

Examples for:

- a) addition of - a : div-diva, sraja-sraja, marut-maruta  
etc.
- b) addition of - u and doubling of final consonant:  
ap-appu, ksut-ksuttu, vidyut-  
vidyuttu etc.
- c) for the dropping of final consonant: rājan-rāja.  
karin-kari, karman-karma etc.

In the sūtra the term 'also' (mēṇ) is used. It is to indicate the changes found in yasam-yasassu, tējam-tējassu, manam - manassu etc.

Some consonant ending words also are used in Kannada like vāk, yugapad etc.

The word gīr become gire.

'The Sanskrit nominal bases in third person plural, and ending in visarga are used as nominal bases, if the visarga is dropped.'<sup>30</sup>

The Sanskrit first person plural forms which end in visarga, will drop that visarga to form the nominal base in Kannada. They will be singular bases. For example,

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svānaḥ - svāna. Yuvānaḥ-yuvāna. Vidvānsaḥ-vidvānsa,  
srimantaḥ - srimanta etc.

In the above sutrās treated so far, the procedures as to how the Sanskrit forms are used in Kannada as nominal bases are given. It is an established fact that from whatever the source the words came, they have to change to suit the structure of the receiving language. Wherever both the structures are common, the forms remain unchanged. If there is a difference in the two structures, the forms have to change accordingly. If the difference is found in one or two examples, it is limited to that particular word like pitṛi becoming pitera. But, a particular structural difference if found in large number of words, then the change will be stated in terms of a principle, which is also called fashion of adaptation. Such a phenomenon is found in ā changing to e. in the examples bālā-bāle, mālā-māle etc. There is no visarga in Kannada; hence, all the words having visarga, drop them to be used in Kannada. There is another aspect of this. There is a semantic change also. The first person plural forms ending in visarga, drop their visarga, and will behave as singular bases.

These words will give structural clue to the existence or otherwise of a particular feature in the system. Why

Sanskrit words ending in ā should change to e ? It is because the long vowel -ā does not occur in the final position of the Kannada free words. Similarly, the long vowels ī, ū also do not come at the end of the Kannada word. Hence, all the long vowels of Sanskrit words like strī, sarayū etc. become short vowels in Kannada. Because vowel ri is not found in Kannada, it changes to ara. Otherwise where was the necessity of such a change ? Similar is the case with visarga also.

GENDER

In the following sūtras, the treatment of gender is given. 'There are nine genders in Kannada: They are:

- |                    |                             |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) masculine       | 2) feminine                 |
| 3) neuter          | 4) masculine-feminine       |
| 5) feminine-neuter | 6) masculine-neuter         |
| 7) samasta liṅga   | 8) dependent (viśeṣyādhīna) |
| 9) avyayaliṅga     | gender                      |

Examples:

- 1) Masculine : arasam, dēvam, suram
- 2) Feminine : arasi, dēvi
- 3) Neuter : kannadi, kaḷaṣam
- 4) Masculine-neuter: ravi (mūḍidaṁ, mūḍidudu) etc.
- 5) Masculine-feminine: ivar (puruṣar, strīyar) etc.
- 6) Feminine-neuter: āpeṇ (jāṇe, bandudu) etc.
- 7) All the three genders: nīn (arasam, arasi, paṣu)
- 8) Dependent gender: abhimāni, dāni, sādhu etc.
- 9) Avyayaliṅga: bhōṅkane (bandam, baḍaḷ, bandudu)

In the next sūtra, Kēsirāja has given the varieties of dependent (vacya or viśeṣyādhīna) gender: 'dependent gender consists of seven classes of words:

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- 1) The words nān, nīn and tān.
- 2) Qualifiers.
- 3) Pronouns.
- 4) Bahurīhi compounds.
- 5) Nominal bases of verbal themes (kritā)
- 6) Derivative nouns.
- 7) Numerals.

The gender of these words listed is depending on the substantive, with which they come. That is, these categories have no gender inherently. Their gender is that of the substantive.

- 1) nīn etc: - nīm kāmam, nīm rati, nīm gili.
- 2) Qualifier: - iniyam, iniyal, iniyadu, inidu.
- 3) Pronoun: - peram, peral, peralu.
- 4) Compound (bahuvrihi): avam kusigoralam, aval kusigoralī, adu kusigoral.
- 5) Verbal theme: - pāḍidam, pāḍidal, pāḍidudu.
- 6) Derivative: - ōdālī ivam, ōdālī ival, ōdālī idu.
- 7) Numerals: sāyir gaṇḍar, sāyir peṇḍir, sāyir-manegaḷ.

In the next sūtra, the nature of the avyayaliṅga is given: 'The avyayaliṅga adjusts itself to all the cases'

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three genders and three numbers.'

Examples:

- 1) Nominative: nirnerāmbandam means nirnimittāmbandam etc.
- 2) Accusative: beccaram nuḍidam means beccaramam nuḍidam etc.
- 3) Instrumental: antarim means adarinda.
- 4) Dative: paccane, keccane give dative sense.
- 5) Genitive: mattina gives the sense of genitive.

For three genders: mattam nōḍidam, mattam nōḍidal, mattam nōḍidudu.

For number: Bhōṅkane ōrvam bandam (singular)

Mellane irvar nuḍidar (Dual)

Nettane ellarum pōdar (Plural)

In the previous sūtra Kēsirāja had enumerated nine genders, but in the next one he says they are only three: 'There are three genders in Kannada - masculine, feminine and neuter. Those which denote men are masculine, those which denote women are feminine. All others are neuter. The use of the other genders is not found.'

33 S.D. sūtra - 100.

34 S.D. sūtra - 101.

Examples:

- 1) Masculine : arasam, kāmaṃ, Rāmaṃ etc.
- 2) Feminine : Saraswati, Rati, Shaci etc.
- 3) Neuter : maram, balli, puli etc.

In the next sūtra, a treatment of some individual words is found: 'The nouns jana and mahājana are neuter. The word jana if preceded by the suffix duh-, sat- or -su is considered as masculine gender. If it is preceded by mahat-<sup>35</sup> it is neuter.' For example, durjanam, sajjanam, sujanam (masculine), janam, mahājanam (neuter).

'Some Sanskrit words belonging to all the three genders,<sup>36</sup> become only neuter. Sajjana, kulavadhu are always neuter.'

Here the gender of some Sanskrit words in Kannada is treated. Whatever the gender of these words in Sanskrit, they become neuter in Kannada. For example, sajjana, kulavadhu etc.

Kēsirāja makes a distinction of the term 'linga' as 1) nominals or simple noun roots, which are classified into 9 classes on the basis of concordance; in other words

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35 S.D. sūtra - 102.

36 S.D. sūtra - 166.

Kannada nouns in one place belong to 9 classes - that is, syntactic level.

2) Since 'liṅga' used to denote gender, in the following sūtra he mentions about 3 grammatical genders, which have overt markers in morphological constructions.

The treatment of gender by Kēsīrāja is interesting. Because sometimes he says there are nine genders (sūtra 98), and sometimes three genders (sūtra 101). The hair-splitting analysis of gender in nine parts, which is not inherent in the Kannada words was not necessary. It is stated just to discard it later on. As Kēsīrāja himself says they are not there in Kannada, it suffices to say they are not there. They are listed by him because they are found in Sanskrit.

In the sūtra 99 he listed the seven classes of words in dependent gender. The point here is that all these forms have no susceptibility to gender. Whatever the gender of the substantive, the same may be assumed in respect of these forms. Strangely, Kēsīrāja has given in the list the forms nin, ān etc. and pronouns different from these. It is not clear what led him to call the forms nin, ān etc. not pronouns and to call peratu etc. only as pronouns. The dependent gender in respect of verbal themes are

illustrated by pāḍidaṁ, pāḍidaḷ, pāḍidudu. On what are they dependent? One useful purpose that is served by this listing is the fact that these forms are not susceptible to gender is made clear.

In the sūtra 100 similar is the case. As avyayaliṅga is not having inherent gender, it adjusts itself to the form with which it is coming. While giving examples for adjusting to the gender of seven cases, he has left out the examples for ablative and locative cases. The reason is not clear. Perhaps there were no examples.

Any way, he specifically states in the sūtra 101 that there are only three genders in Kannada and others are not found. And he has given the definition of all these categories. All the words which indicate men are masculine; all those which indicate women are feminine. It is alright so far. When it comes to neuter, the rest of the words are neuter. That means all the animals whether male or female are neuter. So, while treating the gender in Kannada, the distinction of male or female is restricted to human beings only. That is, the gender of the Kannada nouns is decided by the meaning.<sup>37</sup> 'The gender of old Kannada generally seems to agree with the natural sex-difference except in the case

37 Kannada Kaypidi - p.333.

of animals which are brought under the neuter gender.<sup>38</sup> He does not agree with the statement of K.V.Subbaya that in all the Dravidian languages gender follows sex.<sup>39</sup> The Kannada nouns in respect of gender, are divided into two classes. i) human and ii) non-human. That is, those endowed with reason,<sup>39</sup> and <sup>and others</sup> All the human nouns have the same termination in plural, while in singular, there is a distinction of masculine<sup>40</sup> and feminine.

The gender distinction is indicated by -an (masculine), -al (feminine) and -ad (neuter). All these forms are singular. In plural, for human nouns there is -er and for neuter nouns there is -avu. These forms are indicating the number distinction also. But in first and second persons, only number distinction is found. Hence in a limited sense, in Kannada the treatment of gender and number comes together. In the coming sūtras, the number is treated.

Number:

'One, two and many are indicated by the singular, dual and plural. Singular and plural numbers are accepted in

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38 G.S.Gai, p.21.

39 Caldwell, p.220.

40 Telugu distinguishes between mahat and amahat, mahat being only masculine.

Kannada. Dual comes there in appropriate places.<sup>41</sup>

For example, mēru idu (singular),  
pattu kangal (plural), bhīmārjunar (dual)

In the next sūtra, he gives the number suffixes.  
'Before the seven case-suffixes, for dual and plural -gaḷ  
comes. In pronouns and adjectives in place of -gaḷ, -avu<sup>42</sup>  
comes.'

For example, toḍegaḷ, paṅgaḷ avu piriyavu, ivu kiriyavu,  
iniyavu etc.

'The -tu coming at the final position of qualifiers,  
becomes -du; The first letter of avu and ivu is dropped.  
For -gaḷ, the forms -ir, -ar, -dir, -vir come in mascu-<sup>43</sup>  
line and feminine.'

Example:

For dropping of avu etc. beṭṭiduvu, olḷiduvu etc.

For -ir: peṇḍir, vōḷṭir.

For -ar: dēvar, paṇṭar, nallar.

For -dir: ivaldir, ivandir, avandir.

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41 S.D. sūtra - 104.

42 S.D. sūtra - 105.

43 S.D. sūtra - 107.

For - vir : attevīr, sosevīr, tāyvir.

'For masculine and feminine -ar comes. If there are numerals, pronouns, verbal themes, adjectives, derivatives, the -a ending words drop -ir, -dir, -vir.<sup>44</sup>

'In some words -kal comes along with -ar and -vir.

Due to 'bahulagrahana' -kal comes even where -ar and -vir are not there. For -dir and -vir optionally there will be <sup>45</sup> -gal'.

Examples:

-ar and -kal : budharkal, gōvarkal.

-vir and -kal : tāyvirkal.

Elsewhere also -kal: makkal, kōlkal, nālkal.

Pronouns : avargal, ivargal, uvargal.

-dir and -gal : anṇandir - anṇaṇigal.

-vir and -gal : attevīr - attegal.

In the next sūtra, the use of plural and singular is given: 'For singular also there will be the use of plural in the following situations:

1) unworthy character, 2) natural greatness, 3) elders,

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44 S.D. sūtra - 108.

45 S.D. sūtra - 111.

seints etc. and 4) disgust.<sup>46</sup>

Examples:

Natural : emma tandegaḷ, emma tēygaḷ.

Elders : gurugaḷ, svāmigaḷ.

Disgust : baḍavādirarasa.

'If after -a ending masculine and feminine -gaḷ and -dir come, bindu comes. In -a ending neuter words it is optional. In Sanskrit, bindu is compulsory'.<sup>47</sup>

Examples:

For masculine : annandir, annaṅgaḷ.

For feminine : akkandir, akkaṅgaḷ.

For neuter : maraṅgaḷ, maragaḷ.

For Sanskrit words : guṇaṅgaḷ, nadaṅgaḷ etc.

For the fault : dēśegaḷ (It should be dēśaṅgaḷ)

In the following sutra, Kēsirāja gives the use of collective singular: 'Collective singular stands for the plural. Sometimes, even where there is no collectivity, the singular is used for plural in case of qualifiers.'<sup>48</sup>

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46 S.D. sūtra - 112.

47 S.D. sūtra - 113.

48 S.D. sutra - 148.

Examples:

For collectivity: āne nūṅkidavu - ānegaḷu nūṅkidavu.

No collectivity: manam saṅḡalamāduvu - manaiṅḡal saṅḡalamāduvu.

'The singular in numeral objects, numbers, nature etc. stands for plural. The qualifier can be in plural and qualified in singular'.<sup>49</sup>

The singular in numeral objects, numbers, nature etc. gives the sense of plural. Even though the qualifier is in plural, the qualified can be in singular.

For example:

Numeral objects: pattudēse - pattu deṣeḡal.

Numbers: ondu nālku - ondu nālkuḡal.

Nature: kaṅḡal kūṛpu - kaṅḡal kūṛpuḡal.

Singular substantive: nēṛiduvu beral.

'In the sense of the pair, plural, there is singular.<sup>50</sup>  
In the verbal adjective also there is singular'.

Examples:

padayugam for padayugaṅḡal

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49 S.D. sūtra - 150.

50 S.D. sūtra - 155.

for āviṣṭaliṅgaḥ - vedāṅgaḥ pramāṇam.

The form indicating one is singular; that which indicates two is dual; and many is plural. But, Kēsirāja includes the dual not whole-heartedly. He has imposed it on Kannada, just because he is imitating Sanskrit structure too much. Kannada has only two number suffixes - singular and plural. In the instances given for dual number also, the suffix is plural.

In sūtra 105 he gives the suffix -gaḥ as coming before seven case-suffixes. It is the habit of Kēsirāja to start with neuter forms and then state other forms as substitutes. If we take this sūtra literally, it amounts to saying that only -gaḥ comes before the case suffixes, which, in fact, is not correct. All the suffixes can come before the case-suffixes. The form penḡaḥ is interesting because according to the definition given of feminine, it should take -ar suffix in plural, in common with masculine. But, here the noun pen - takes the suffix -gaḥ. It is also used in the sense of neuter in some instances e.g. 'ā pen bandudu'. Pen - with -gaḥ is also neuter. Is it the remnant of original Dravidian structure where feminine-  
51  
neuter were neutralized ? Another point in the sūtra is  
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51 This type of situation is found in Telugu. See Caldwell, p.220.

the pronouns and adjectives have the suffix -avu in place of -gal. Is it necessary to say -avu has replaced -gal? Which is the form to which -avu is applied? The third person neuter plural form is avu and -avu is said to be the plural suffix. Hence, the plural suffix may be other than -avu. It is -vu.

In the sūtra 107, it is stated that in place of -gal, for masculine and feminine, the suffixes are -ir, -ar, -dir, -vir. There is a suffix -ār also found in the inscriptions. For example, aninditār. The form -ār is more ancient than -ar. The suffix -ār is found along with -ar in the inscriptions of the 8th century. But in subsequent centuries only -ar form found. Of these -ar is a masculine plural suffix occurring in the words dēvar, nallar etc. -ir is to be used in feminine forms. -dir is used only with the pronouns. -vir comes with the words indicating the relatives like attevīr, tāvīr etc.

In sūtra 108, Kēsirāja is more specific. He states that the suffix -ar comes in the feminine and masculine forms. But, in the words indicating numerals, pronouns, verbal themes, qualifiers, derivatives etc., only the form -ar comes. In places where masculine form is there, -ir,  
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-dir and -vir suffixes are dropped.

In some words (sūtra 111) the suffix is -kaḷ. It may come along with -ar and -vir. This is the phenomenon where two plural suffixes are added one after the other. For example budharkaḷ, tāyvirkaḷ etc. -kaḷ also can come alone. It can be seen in the forms makkaḷ, nālkaḷ etc. In pronoun, the suffix - gaḷ comes. The pronouns get the suffix -ar (avar), -dir (avaldir, avandir) and now -gaḷ (avargal, ivargal). The point about -gaḷ in pronouns is that it alone is not suffixed to the pronouns. It only comes as a second suffix in the form.

In the sūtra 112 he gives some instances where plural is used, though the meaning is singular. While referring to the elders, saints, natural greatness and also in disgust plural is used for singular.

In sūtra 148 the opposite process of the above is found. The singular is used, but plural is indicated. It is called collective singular (jātyēka vachana). The particular word though in singular, because it stands for the whole community, gives the sense of plural. Such a noun is variously called as mass noun or collective noun etc. Even in qualifiers, the singular is used, but plural meaning is indicated.

The sūtra 150 gives the idea of the use of singular in numeral objects, numbers etc. for the sake of plural. In the words like nālkudese though the noun is singular, because of the word meaning 'four' it has plural sense. The plurality is achieved by affixing plural suffixes, or by the word meaning many. Hence, it may be one of the processes of pluralization.

Similar is the case with pair. As 'pair' always has the sense of 'two' it is plural. Hence, it need not have any plural suffix.

After the treatment of number given by Kēśirāja presented in nutshell, let us try to re-present the same from the modern point of view. For each singular and plural there are separate suffixes. The form without any suffix also, gives the sense of the singular. For example, mēru idu. And gender suffixes -an, -aḷ and -adu give more than one sense, these can be termed as portmenteau morphemes. The plural forms are two: one set indicating the human category and another set non-human category. The suffixes listed for plural for human nouns are: -ar, -vir, -dir, -ir. The suffixes for neuter plural are -avu, -gaḷ and -kaḷ. Now, the point is: whether all of these can be treated as morphemes? If these occur in a definable environment, they

will be allomorphs. The suffixes -gaḷ and -kaḷ are suffixed to the nominal stems, and -vu to others. -vu is affixed to verbal stems and pronouns. For example, avu, māḍiduvu etc. -gaḷ and -kaḷ appear to have definite environment. -kaḷ suffix occurs in the words makkaḷ, kōḷkaḷ, nāḷkaḷ<sup>53</sup> and goravarkaḷ, vēda-vidarkaḷ etc. And the suffix -gaḷ occurs in the words toḍegaḷ, maragaḷ (maraiḡaḷ) peṅgaḷ etc. It may be generalized that the suffix -kaḷ occurs after the words makkaḷ, kōḷkaḷ, nāḷkaḷ and the suffix -gaḷ occurs after all the other words. Hence, the two forms may be said to be the allomorphs of the same morpheme.

Here, the suffix -kaḷ is morphologically conditioned allomorph.

This may be represented as follows:

{ -gaḷ }    /-gaḷ/ occurs after vowel-ending and nasal-ending words e.g. toḍegaḷ, peṅgaḷ etc.  
                   /-vu/ occurs with neuter pronouns.

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53 G.S.Gai, p.28. In the words gorvarkaḷ and vēda-vidarkaḷ as it is the second suffix, these cannot be taken as environments.

Now, about, non-neuter suffixes something similar to the above can be said. Of the four suffixes, -ar, -ir, vir, -dir indicating masculine and feminine (i.e. human), the suffix -ar occurs only after masculine stems. For example, dēvar, nallar etc. The form -ir occurs after pēdir and tōltir.<sup>54</sup> The suffix -vir occurs in the words attevar, soṣevir, tēyvir etc. That is, this -vir occurs in the words indicating relatives, which end in -e and consonants. In other kinship words, the suffix -dir comes. For example, anṇandir, akkandir etc. It may be said that the suffixal -ar occurs after masculine words except relation words. -vir occurs after relation words ending in -e and consonants; and -dir elsewhere. Hence, we can take only one plural morpheme for human nouns with three allomorphs -ar, -dir -vir and -ir.

The number and gender taken together, the morphemes are as follows:

{ n }	/-n/ - singular (first and second persons)
	/-v(u)/ - plural (first and second persons)

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54 This suffix is neither enumerated among the plural suffixes in the studies about inscriptions, nor any example is found thereof. See G.O.Cai, p.24; A.A. Narasimhayya, p.114.

The portmenteau morphemes are:

- an - masculine and singular
- al - feminine and singular
- am - neuter and singular
- <sup>55</sup> - ar, <sup>56</sup> - ir, -vir, - dir - human and plural, taking  
-v, -d- as inflectional increments.
- gal, -vu, -kal - neuter and plural.

In the following sūtras, Kēsirāja notes some stray changes taking place in the nominal bases: 'Measurement - words, numerals of masculine and feminine get -v. That -v becomes -b also. In -a ending words bindu comes optionally. <sup>57</sup> Sometimes -b is dropped.

Examples:

Measurement : ellavar.

Numerals: Mūvat tumūvar.

for b : anibar, inibar, irbar.

bindu in -a words: palambar, kelambar.

optionally no bindu: palabar, kelabar.

dropping of -b : palar, kelar.

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55 -a (in -ar) is also having 3 person meaning.

56 -i (in -ir, -dir) is also having 2nd person meaning.

57 S.D. sūtra - 109.

'The words indicating measurement viz., anitu, <sup>58</sup>initu, enitu, ellavu, kelavu, palavu drop the final varṇas.'

For example: anibar, inibar, enibar.

'If there is a vowel in the latter half, bindu becomes <sup>59</sup>m or n; and m becomes v. Original m also becomes v.'

Examples:

n: polam - ariyada = polanariyada.

m: kulam - am = kulamam

v: kēlvandam - ento = kēlvandavento.

original m v : tāmare - tāvare, timir - tivir.

'After m and n, whether there is a consonant or not, bindu comes. If there is a varṇa consonant, it becomes, the <sup>60</sup>nasal of that class'.

Examples:

bindu of m: nīm yōgyar - nīm yōgyar.

bindu of n: ān vādi - ām vādi

Without consonant: nīn, ān, nīm, (ām) - nīm, ām.

58 S.D. sūtra - 110.

59 S.D. sūtra - 114.

60 S.D. sūtra - 172.

optionally in varge: avāṁkaḍugali, tāncalavādi, kareṇṭakkam,  
kēṇḍalir, kemman

'The word middle -y- becomes ai, and w becomes au.  
Optionally for the word final -a, there will be O'.<sup>61</sup>

Examples:

-y- : tērayisidam - tēraisidam, kayivāram - kaivāram  
-w- : kavungu - kaungu, kavuṇḍe - kauḍe.

As it is already stated (in the phonology) that there are no diphthongs in Kannada, there is no question of y becoming ai, and w becoming au.

'In non-compounds and compounds, n after ṇ becomes ṇ.  
It is difficult to pronounce though found in some  
instances'.<sup>62</sup>

Examples:

taṇ + nelal - taṇṇelal, kaṇ + nīr - kaṇṇīr.

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61 S.D. sūtra - 168.

62 S.D. sūtra - 169.

CASE

Kēsiraja defines the vibhakti as: 'vibhakti is so called because it divides the meaning of the word. It is also known as affix (pratyaya). Base takes its position before the suffix. These two join into a word.'<sup>63</sup>

The function of the vibhakti is to divide the meaning of the word, whatever it may mean. This function is achieved by the suffixes. These suffixes are joined to the base forms.

In the next sūtra, the seven case-suffixes are enumerated: 'The seven nominal case-suffixes, -m, -am, -im, -ke, -at and -ol respectively are added to all the different nominal bases enumerated before.'<sup>64</sup>

The seven cases are: nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative. The respective case suffixes are the ones listed above. These case-suffixes are added depending upon the kāraka. Kāraka is responsible for action. The kāraka is of six kinds: agent (kartr), object (karma), instrument (karaṇa), giving (sampradāna), separation (apādāna), location (adhikaraṇa).

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63 S.D. sūtra - 45.

64 S.D. sūtra - 103.

Genitive indicates relation between nouns.

The examples are:

- 1) Nominative - maram
- 2) Accusative - maramam
- 3) Instrumental - maradim
- 4) Dative - marakke
- 5) Ablative - maradattanim
- 6) Locative - maradol
- 7) Vocative - maranē

a) Nominative case:

In the following sūtra, various changes in the nominative case forms are given. 'Nominative -a ending words get bindu. In non -a ending words, it is dropped. -a ending masculine gets -n.'

In the nominative -a ending words, get bindu. In non-a ending forms, the nominative case-suffix is dropped. In the -a ending masculine forms, if vowel comes after, every where, there will be -n.

For example,

for bindu : - vēdavidam.

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for dropping of bindu: pul, giḍu, puli, baḷḷi.

for -n āgama: avana.

Is there any suffix for nominative case? Kēśirāja lists -m as the nominative case-suffix and other grammarians also do the same thing. The examples are maram etc. This phenomenon also is limited to -a ending words. In other words ending in a vowel other than -a, this -m is not found. Even in -a ending words, it is not always the case. For example pavanaja, aliya, arasa, keleya, oḍeya etc. Kannaci, Koṅgaṇi, arasi, mahādēvi, bhūmi, kāpu, pulu, pali- pare, perggade, sūle etc. Hence, there is no nominative case-suffix in Kannada, A.N.Narasimhayya says 'there is no case termination for the nominative singular in all the three genders. Usually, the stem itself stands for the nominative case, or the stem with gender suffix. Kaypidi is specific about the non-existence of case-termination for nominative. The rule in the grammars is that in -a ending words, that too, in singular, the suffix is added. That

66 Gadāyuddha - Ch.6. ve. 27. See P.G.Kulkarni, p.365.

67 A.N.Narasimhayya - p.117.

68 G.S.Gai, p.29.

69 A.N.Narasimhayya - p.117.

70 Kannada Kaypidi - Pt.I. p.336.

also, sometimes dropped. That means the case-termination for nominative is zero. The suffix is juxtaposed, to drop it later on. It is to fill the structural necessity that every case has a suffix to denote it. Dr.Caldwell says that in the Dravidian, the nominative is not provided with a<sup>71</sup> case-termination.

Accusative:

In the following sūtra, the accusative case is treated. 'For -a ending neuter in accusative case, -am and -an come. In Sanskrit, there will be only -am.<sup>72</sup> For instrumental case etc. -d comes.'

Examples:

for -am : beṭṭamam, kollamam, baḷagamam.

for -an : polanam, nelanam, bilanam.

for -am in Sanskrit: kulamam, calamam.

In the next sūtra, the nature and kinds of the object are given. 'The object is the thing intended by an agent. It is of four inds.

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71 Caldwell - p.255.

72 S.D. sūtra - 116.

- 1) Nirvartya - to be done.
- 2) Vikārya - which is modified.
- 3) prāpya ; that do be attained.
- 4) Vaiṣayika - object of eyes etc.<sup>73</sup>

The examples are:

- 1) nirvartya - maneyam māḍidam, kāvyamam pēḍam.
- 2) vikārya - paḷuvam kaḍidam.
- 3) prāpya - ūraneydidam, maneyam sārdam
- 4) vaiṣayika - nēsaṟam nōḍidam, gītamam kēḍam.

In the next sūtra, the environment of the accusative case is given: 'Accusative case is to be used in the sense of wanted, unwanted, time, space, and direction. In agent, instrument and intention, the instrumental case is used.'<sup>74</sup>

Examples:

for wanted	: nēvalamam tegedam
for unwanted	: pāvam dāṇṭidam
for time	: aruḍiṅgalam talvidam
for distance	: aregāvudam paridam

Sometimes, there is a double object: guruvam jñānamam besagoṇḍam.  
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73 S.D. sūtra - 138.

74 S.D. sūtra - 139.

Kēsirāja lists -am as the accusative case-suffix. But, originally it is -an, as when a vowel comes after -m, it becomes <sup>75</sup>-n, and in the old inscriptions the forms -ān, -an are found. e.g. singhamān, pīthamān etc. Of the forms -ān, -an, the form -ān is ancient. During 7th century -ān forms are more prevalent, and in 8th century -ān, and -an are found side by side. In subsequent centuries only -an remains. <sup>76</sup> For example, eḍeyān, giriyaṇ, (7th c), koḍeyān, kōteyan, pīthamān (8th century) <sup>77</sup>dattamān, nelan, puliyān, kālan sṭhānamān (9th century). This length is said to be optional in the words, in accusative case, if vowel comes after. <sup>78</sup> For example, Kallanēridam - kallānēridam, billanadam - billānadam.

Another feature of the accusative case is that the nominative case also is used in the sense of the accusative. That means in some accusative forms there is a zero suffix. <sup>79</sup> For example, nunpullan.

75 G.S.Gai, p.42.

76 Ibid. p.43.

77 Ibid..

78 S.D. sūtra - 128.

79 S.D. sūtra - 146.

In addition to the accusative case-suffixes -ān, -an, -am, and zero mentioned by Kēsīrāja, there are other suffixes found in the inscription of that period. These are -am,<sup>80</sup> -ā and -a. For example, pull -a, kayy-a, vālihhāgamē. arasanam.

Instrumental case:

In the following sūtras, instrumental case, is treated:

"In agent, instrument and intention, instrumental case is<sup>81</sup> used".

Examples:

- 1) Agent : padakam akkasāleyim mādepatṭudu.
- 2) Instrument : koḍaliyim kaḍidam.
- 3) cause : ōlāgadam paḍadam.

-im also the instrumental case-suffix found in the<sup>82</sup> inscriptions e.g. Rāghaven-im.

In the next sūtra, the stem-form is given attention:

'For instrumental case etc. -d- comes'<sup>83</sup>. For example, manadim, mentradim etc.

80 G.S.Gai, p.46.

81 S.D. sūtra - 139.

82 G.S.Gai, p.48.

83 S.D. sūtra - 116.

The instrumental case-suffixes are given in the next sūtra: 'the instrumental has -im, indam, -inde as suffixes.<sup>84</sup> For these three, the -e comes.'

There are three suffixes for instrumental case viz., -im, -indam, and -inde. Instead of these three, there is -e also used.

For example, vāḥaliyim, mulisindam, allegalinde, kramade, nagade, bhayade.

Next sūtra deals with various changes in instrumental case: 'In the words ending in u, ū, ri, rī, au, o and e, the form -in comes in the instrumental case etc. In the<sup>85</sup> instrumental case and -v sandhi, -in comes optionally.'

For example,

talirvāsu	- talirvāsininde,	(for u)
pū	- pūvina	(for ū)
pitri	- pitrivina	(for ri)
rī	- rīvina	(for rī)
glau	- glauvina	(for au)

84 S.D. sūtra - 117.

85 S.D. sūtra - 118.

ninne	-	ninnina	(for e)
sūl	-	sūlina	(for consonant also)
mātim	-	mātinim	(optional -in)
māduvam	-	maḍuviniṃ	(in -v sandhi optionally)

'in instrumental etc. u ending verbal nouns, pro-  
nouns, adjectives, numerals, measurement words get -ar.<sup>86</sup>

In the words indicating direction -an comes.'

For example:

- 1) verbal noun : māḍidudaraṃ, uṇbudarke
- 2) pronoun : peravara, adara.
- 3) adjective : kirīdaroḷe
- 4) numerals : mūrurim, nālkarim.
- 5) measurement : anitarim, initiram
- 6) for - an : mūdanim, tenkanim, ettanim etc.

The three suffixes for instrumental case listed by Kēśirāja are: -im, -inda, -inde. But it appears that at the root of these forms, there is -in in ancient old Kannada. Generally -im is used before a consonant and -in<sup>87</sup> before a vowel. But, sometimes, -in also comes before the consonants. The -e suffix which comes in place of three

86 S.D. sūtra - 120.

87 A.N.Narasimhaya, p.139.

suffixes is supposed to be the locative case-suffix by some<sup>88</sup> scholars.

For example, olagu - e = olage.

Dative case:

In the following sūtras, the dative case is dealt with. 'The dative case is used in sampradāna. It is used to denote taste, competition, jealousy, good thing, fear, prosperity, auspiciousness, hatred, cause, boeing, bad thing, analogy, desire, representation'.<sup>89</sup>

Examples:

- 1) Sampradāna : Brāhmaṇaṅge gōvam koṭṭam.
- 2) Taste : Kūsiṅge laḍḍugeyaḷti.
- 3) Competition : Kavige kavi munivam.
- 4) Jealousy : Savatige puruḍipal.
- 5) Good : Paṣuvige hitam triṇam.
- 6) Fear : Pāpakkāṅjugum takkam.
- 7) Prosperity : Lōkakkadhikaṇitam.
- 8) Nature : Siṁhakke sauryam.
- 9) Cause : Sirigudyōgam.
- 10) Bowings: : Guruviṅgeragidam.

88 Kaypidi Pt.I. p.341.

89 S.D. sūtra - 140 and 141.

- |     |                |                           |
|-----|----------------|---------------------------|
| 11) | Bad            | : Ātañge viṣamanikkidam.  |
| 12) | Analogy        | : Ātaṅgītam takkam.       |
| 13) | Representative | : Ā kabbakkī kabbamāyту.  |
| 14) | Desired        | : Bhaktañge varamanittam. |

'For the pronoun ēn, the form in nominative is ētar̥. In dative ētar̥ke, ēke forms are found. For instrumental etc. there is the stem ētar̥.'

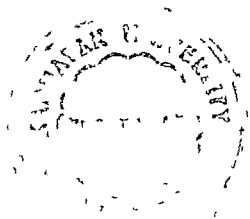
In the next sūtra, some changes that are found in dative case<sup>are</sup> mentioned: 'In dative -a ending masculine gets a bindu before -ge. In -a ending neuter, that suffix is, optionally, doubled. In consonant ending and vowel-ending (other than -a) words, in dative case, there will be -ge irrespective of number and gender.'

Examples:

- 1) Masculine : arasaṅge, ātaṅge.
- 2) Neuter : banake-banakke, polake-polakke.
- 3) Three genders : kavige, ākege, tanuge.
- 4) Three numbers : ninage, kavigalge, kurugalge.

90 S.D. sūtra - 122.

91 S.D. sūtra - 123.



'In samāse-like forms of dative, there is no third letter (g)<sup>92</sup>'.

For example, kālke, nālke, ētarke, adarke.

In the next sūtra, the dative suffix for Sanskrit words is treated: 'For Sanskrit masculine feminine plural forms, when a dative case-suffix is added, it may be doubled<sup>93</sup> optionally.'

For Sanskrit masculine and feminine words in plural, dative suffix is optionally doubled. In Kannada words also, there is such a doubling optionally.

For example:

Sanskrit words : budharge-budhargge.

Kannada words : sūleyarge-sūleyargge.

The dative case-suffixes listed by Kēsirāja are -ke (-kke), -ge (gge). Sometimes, that -ge comes with bindu (-ñge) also. Of these forms -ke appears to be older. The suffix -ke comes after neuter nouns ending in -a and pronouns adu, idu, enu, and -ge after masculine feminine forms. So the dative case-suffix morpheme can be taken as only one

92 S.D. sūtra - 124.

93 S.D. sūtra - 125

with five allomorphs. Of these -ke occurs 'after -a ending neuter nouns and pronouns *adu*, *idu* and *en*. -kke is in free variation with -ke in such forms as *polake-polakke* etc. -ge comes after the masculine and feminine forms, and neuter nouns ending in a vowel other than -a. For example, *brāhmaṇage*, *ākege*, *kūsige*. The form -nge comes after -a ending masculine nouns. <sup>94</sup> For example, *arasange*, -gge is in free-variation with -ge. For example, *budharge-budhargge*, *sūleyarge-sūleyargge*. Hence, they constitute the allomorphs of the dative case suffix morpheme.

It appears, dative case suffix -ke, can be further divided into (k - e). This -e is used in the instrumental and locative cases also. For example, *kramade*, *nayade* (instrumental), *olage*, *horage* (locative). Does this -e <sup>95</sup> indicate direction ? It should be enquired further.

#### Ablative case:

'In the sense of 'coming away from' (*apādāna*), the ablative case is used. It is used in fear, acceptance, <sup>96</sup> desire, non-desire, purpose, birth, greatness etc.'

94 The suffix -nge is found, though rarely, after -n ending words also e.g. *kūsiṅge*, *laḍḍugeyaṭi*.

95 The case system in Kannada-Kannada Studies. 4.

96 S.D. sūtra - 142.

The case suffix for ablative is -attan̄im. For example, maraḍattan̄im paṇṇudirdudu. balabhadraṃ. Greatness: kṛṣṇa-  
nim priyam.

Fear	: huliyaṭṭan̄indañjīḍem.
Acceptance	: Svāmīyaṭṭan̄im, nirvāhaṃādudu.
Desire	: Raṃbheyattaṇim sukhāṃ prāptisidudu.
Non-desire	: Paḡeyattaṇim baṇḍhaṇam baṇḍudu.
Purpose	: Udyōgaḍattaṇim siri baṇḍudu.
Birth	: Sadvamsaḍattaṇim puṭṭidaṃ.

'For ablative -at̄ is included. To that ablative, three suffixes of instrumental case viz., -im, -inde, -inda, are affixed and the -e of instrumental is left out.<sup>97</sup>

-at̄ is the case-suffix for ablative according to Kēsiraḡa. This -at̄ becomes -attaṇ and to this attaṇ, one of three suffixes of instrumental case are added. viz., -im, -indam, -inde. So, suffixes will be -attaṇim, -attaṇindam, -attaṇinde.

There is a question whether the ablative case is there in Kannada or not ? Another question regarding the ablative is: whether it is necessary for Kannada ? About the first

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question, Kēsīrāja is in affirmative. He has given the case-suffix for the ablative case. Both Shri Gai and Narasimhayya say that there are no examples of the ablative having been used in the inscriptions upto the 10th century.<sup>98</sup> But, the suffix-attenim<sup>99</sup> is found in Kavirāja Mārga. This suffix is common to the instrumental-case suffix. That means the instrumental case-suffix itself does the function of the ablative in Kannada. Hence, it is not there in Kannada.<sup>100</sup> This view is held by the authors of Kaypidi. Now, whether the ablative case is necessary or not ? For the instrumental case 'Karaṇa' is the kāraka, and for the ablative 'apādāna' is kāraka. So they are different. And even when the instrumental case-suffix is used, the ablative meaning is conveyed by the context. Hence, why to deny the existence of the ablative case ? It may not have more use like others. But, that is not the criterion to decide whether there is a particular case or not. Hence, it can be said the ablative case need not be taken out from the case system. The instrumental case-suffix and the ablative

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98 A.N.Narasimhayya - p.161. G.S.Gai - 'Under the heading 'The ablative case' says 'there is no ablative case in Kannada. However, he gives the example 'purigere-y-im where the instrumental case is used for the ablative motion.' p.54.

99 K.M. 1-115.

100 Kaypidi - Pt. I.p.

case-suffix are homophonous forms.

Dr.Caldwell is very specific about the ablative case. 'This case appears to have been included in the list of cases by Dravidian grammarians out of difference to the grammatical principles of the Sanskrit. It is true that if we look at the construction and meaning of a Dravidian sentence, the signification of an ablative of motion will be found to exist, and it will be found to be expressed much more clearly even than in Sanskrit; but, a distinction is to be drawn between the existence of a case and the existence of a case-sign, a regular technical suffix of case. The Dravidian languages have undoubtedly an ablative of motion, and a great many other ablative besides, but I doubt whether they have any case-suffix which belongs exclusively to the ablative of motion.

The Genitive case:

In the following sūtras, there is a treatment of the genitive case. 'The genitive case is used in relation. Relation is characteristic of master, collectivity, family, vicinity, touch etc.'

101 Caldwell, p.283.

102 S.D. sūtra - 143.



For example:

Family	: emma aliyam, emma tamnam
Master	: ūroḍeyam, nāḍereyam
Collectivity	: āneya ghaṭe, giliya pinḍu
Parts	: marada koṁbu, koḍeya kāvu.
Symbol	: toppigeya māṇasam
Viscinity	: keṛeya kōḍi, ūra mundu.
Touch	: tōḷabandi, nīrahāvase.
Relation	: nosala kaṇṇa dēvam.
form of object:	ponna kōl.

~~As all the case-suffixes are from genitive, it is called relation.~~

The genitive case-suffix is found in the next sūtra:

'The genitive case suffix -a is sometimes lengthened at the end. And, this length is used for sorrow, gaity etc.'

Examples:

- ā - mṛīdanā, jaṭanā, kuveraṅkarāmanā.
- " - bēḍagada ninagātānol calam (gaity)
- " - satyamam nudigada nīnātānol (order)

The genitive case suffix is -a and -ā (optionally).  
Of these -ā is earlier.

The Locative Case:

Locative case is presented in the following sūtras:  
'In the sense of adhikarana (location), the locative case  
is used. It is found in decision, subject, spread, busin-  
ess, time 'sati'.<sup>104</sup>

That which is the base location. There locative  
case is used. For example:

- 1) Location : pāsinaḥ nidregeydam.
- 2) Quality : ratnaṅgaḥ māṇikyamuttamam.
- 3) Action : kēduvarolītam meygali
- 4) Subject : kiviyoḥ parcidam.
- 5) Spread : pūvinoḥ kampu
- 6) Behaviour : tapadoḥ negaḍam.
- 7) Time : vasantadoḥ mēvu kayvandaḍu.
- 8) meaning of 'sati': bare kaṇḍam - barpeḍeyoḥ kaṇḍam.

The locative case-suffix is given in the next sūtra:  
'For locative -alli and -ol are usually used. In the dire-  
ctional words ending in -a, optionally -al comes. In

-u ending and other words -alli and ol forms come'.<sup>105</sup>

Examples:

Koḷadol - koḷadalli, banadol - banadalli, mūdāl; padu-  
val etc.

olagu - olage, poragu - porage, etc.

In the next sūtra, some individual words are treated:<sup>106</sup>  
'mundu and pindu become muntē and pintu, mēl becomes mel.'

There is a suffix -e also used for locative case.  
This is found in -a ending neuter words, and -u ending di-  
rection words, which are used optionally. Modern view is  
that this -e used in the instrumental case, is originally  
locative case-suffix. For example, mana-d-e, sanmala-d-e,  
<sup>107</sup>  
etc.

The locative case-suffix may be divided into two types:  
1) Morphological-which includes the suffixes like -ul, -ol,  
-e, and 2) Periphrastic-which includes the mixed forms like  
olage, kelage, mē:le etc. The forms -ul etc. do not appear  
to be suffixes originally, as they are roots.

105 S.D. sūtra - 129.

106 S.D. sūtra - 130.

107 G.S.Gai, p.62.

The Vocative Case:

'In vocative case, every where, the nominative singular is dropped. (i.e. either a vowel or a consonant is dropped).  
108  
There are two kākus viz., short and long.'

Examples for

āmantraṇa - dēva binṇapam

short kāku: ele gaḷapa

long kāku : kurupatī

Everywhere in vocative, there will be e and ē at the end. For -a ending words, if e and ē come, there will be bindu in the middle. If no bindu for plural -ar, optionally, there will be e and ē.  
109

Without distinction to masculine or feminine, in vocative, there will be e or ē at the end. In -a ending words, if e and ē come, there will be bindu in the middle. In the plural -ar where there is no bindu, there is, optionally e or ē.

For example:

kōkilaṇādeyē (feminine)

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108 S.D. sūtra - 134.

109 S.D. sūtra - 135.

manuvē (masculine)

bhaṭṭarē (-a ending)

ele tumbī, eḷe tumbi, eḷe tumbiye.

'In dual and plural, for -gaḷ and kaḷ, ira is augmented.<sup>110</sup> For roots of plural, there will be singular.'

For example:

-ira - suratarunandanagaḷira.

- " - dēviyarkaḷira (for with kaḷ)

naṇṭargaḷira ( with - ar)

ariyire nimumāmumodaṇōdidevambudanaṇṇa.

- (plural suffix used as singular).

pāḍele tumbi (the root).

bāra marālikāgamane (root plus a).

Vocative case has no kāraka. Its purpose is to attract attention of, or call the persons. The nominative form itself is used by the Kannada grammarians for this purpose; sometimes, the final vowel is lengthened. 'It can be said that in Kannada, there is nothing which properly deserves to be styled a suffix or case-sign of the vocative. It is formed merely by affixing or suffixing some sign of emphasis, or in certain instances by suffixing the fragments of the

111  
personal pronouns.

Vibhakti Pallata (Transfer of cases)

In the following sūtras, the phenomenon called the Vibhakti pallata is given: 'All these cases are transferred. In the sense of nominative and accusative, the genitive is used.'<sup>112</sup>

All the cases enumerated so far may be transferred every where. There is genitive case used in the sense of the nominative and accusative.

For example:

Genitive for nominative : nr̥pēna pēle.

Genitive for accusative : nīnēna koṇḍe.

'For the nominative and accusative, there will be -al. The words indicating time viz., andu, indu, undu, endu etc. are common to nominative, accusative and locative.'<sup>113</sup>

For example:

mūḍal (nom.) mūḍal (acc)

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111 Caldwell, p.306.

112 S.D. sūtra - 145.

113 S.D. sūtra - 131.

andu (nom.), andu (acc.), andu (loc.).

'For the nominal base meaning number, gender, meaning and vocative, the nominative case is used. The accusative case is used to indicate karma (object)' <sup>114</sup>.

Examples:

Three genders: Indram, kāmīni, āne.

Meaning : niḍiyam, gujjam.

Number : ondu, eraḍu, mūru.

For subject giving instrumental meaning there is nominative. For example, avam māḍidam, - avaniṁ māḍepaṭṭudu. For vocative: eḷē dēva rakṣisu.

'Accusative is found in nominative, instrumental and dative. With linkages, there is accusative used for the ablative. The locative case suffix is used for the instrumental. For the ablative, there is instrumental case-suffix <sup>115</sup> also used.'

Examples:

Accusative for nominative: nuṇpullan for nuṇpanullan.

Accusative for dative: ponnem baḍḍige koṭṭam means ponnem  
baḍḍiyam koṭṭam

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114 S.D. sūtra - 137.

115 S.D. sūtra - 146.

Accusative for ablative: Mānavakenattānim kāryamaṁ beṣa-  
gondāṁ means Mānavakanam kāryam beṣagondāṁ.

Locative for instrumental: koḍaliyim kaḍidāṁ means koḍali-  
yol kaḍidāṁ.

Instrumental for ablative: kereyattānim bandam means  
kereyim bandam.

'For genitive and accusative, the dative is used.

For locative, the nominative, genitive and dative are used.

For accusative, the nominative is used.'

Examples:

Genitive for dative: koḍeyoḍeyam - koḍegoḍeyam.

Accusative for dative: siṣyanam kalpisidāṁ means siṣyaṅge  
kalpisidāṁ.

Locative for nominative: ondu dinadol bandam means ondu  
dinam bandam.

Locative for genitive: cāgigaḷol ballaḥam means cāgigaḷa  
ballaḥam.

Locative for dative: tāvareyol puttidaṁ means tāvarege  
puttidaṁ

Accusative for nominative: onduvarṣamanirdam means ondu  
varṣamirdam.

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In the following sūtras, Kēsī<sup>1</sup>raja gives the changes in the stem - form of individual words. "In the consonant ending words pagal and iru<sup>1</sup> - in comes optionally. In āgal and īgal - in comes regularly. In other places it is a fault.<sup>117</sup>"

For example:

pagalu - pagalina (optional -in)  
āgalina, īgalina (regular - in)  
beralina, koralina (are mistakes)

'In the directional words where -an is affixed, it will be -a in masculine. Where -an is not found in directional word -d comes.<sup>118</sup>'

Examples:

- a : mūḍaṇam, paḍuvaṇam, mēgaṇam etc.
- d : keladam, baladam, allidam.

The treatment of case-system by Kēsī<sup>1</sup>rāja clearly shows that it is put in the mould of Sanskrit case-system. All the eight cases of Sanskrit grammars are taken into

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117 S.D. sūtra - 119.

118 S.D. sūtra - 121.

Kannada, irrespective of their applicability to Kannada structure. The nomenclature of the cases also is that of Sanskrit, being just the numerical enumeration like prathamā (first), dvitīyā (second) etc.

Some scholars divide the cases in Kannada into two categories. In the first category, the nominative, dative and the genitive cases are included; and in the second category, instrumental, ablative, and locative cases are included.<sup>119</sup>

The case-suffixes in Kannada are post-positions or post-positional suffixes.<sup>120</sup> Dr.Caldwell says, "Most of the post-positions are, in reality, separate words. Several case-signs, especially in more cultivated dialects, have lost the faculty of separate existence, and can only be treated now as case-terminations."<sup>121</sup> But, Dr.Caldwell's statement is not justifiable. He is lead, it appears, by the locative case-suffixes. The locative case-suffixes are -ol ( -ul), -alli, -e, -al etc. According to him, these can be used as independent words also. To some extent, it may be true. But the same does not hold good to other

119 Kannada Bhāṣeya Charitre - p.364.

120 Pratyayadin pūrvadolitkum prakṛti - S.D. sutra - 45.

121 Caldwell - p.253.

suffixes, and it is difficult to find traces of their word-status.

Kēsirāja has enumerated the changes that the nominal bases undergo while taking the case-suffixes. The case suffixes can be applied only to the stem-form (prakṛti). It can not be affixed directly to the noun-base. The stem which takes the case-suffix may have undergone the change, or may have retained the original form. Some such changes that are found in the stem form in relation to the original noun-form are noticed by Kēsirāja (cf. sūtra Nos. 119, 121 etc.) Such modifications are generally, restricted to only three cases, viz., instrumental, genitive and locative cases. For example, maram, maramam, maradim, marakke, marada, maradol. These examples of stems can be shown like: marā - d - im, marā - d - a, marā - d - ol. Here, the first part is the nominal form, and the last one is the case-suffix. Both these have the meaning of their own. But, it is difficult to assign any meaning to the middle-component viz., -d-. When the case terminations are affixed to the nominal stem, some phonological change is noticed in the stem form. This change is due to the addition of one or more phonemes to the nominal base, before the case-suffix. This change is termed as augment (āgama) by our grammarians, and 'inflectional increment' by some of the modern linguists.

Another term that is used by other modern linguists is  
122  
'stem-formative'. -d- in marada etc. is such a stem-formative. There are six such stem-formatives in Kannada viz., -ad-, -y-, -w-, -an-, -in-, and -ar-. Of these six, the two -y-, and -w- may be considered as general factors due to sandhi phenomenon which can be observed in all the cases. But, there are other four viz., -ad-, -an-, -in- and -ar-, which are conditioned. These four stem-formatives are affixed to the different kinds of nominal bases.

These stem-formatives are also morphemes. The basic requirement of the morpheme is the meaning that is, significance. The forms mara, -inda etc. are having meaning. Hence, they can be termed as morphemes. But, what about these stem-formatives? What meaning do they possess? To our knowledge, they do not have any meaning. But still, they can be considered as morphemes, as they are structurally very important as they fulfill some important structural function. The function here is that of forming the stem. Without the addition of these forms, it is impossible, in Kannada, to add suffixes to the nominal bases. They are structurally inevitable, hence, significant. That is why they are considered as morphemes. As these stem-formative

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morphemes are devoid of meaning, they are called 'empty morphemes.' That is, morphemes empty of meaning.

The next question is: whether these stem-formatives in Kannada, follow the form of the nominal base or the meaning of it ?

In the following words, the stem-formative -ad- comes. The words are: eda, bala, agga, haggā, pustaka etc. The form of the word eda is vcv; that of bala is: cvcv. Both can be brought together in one form viz. (c)v cv - consonant in the beginning of the word is optimal. The form of the word agga is: vccv, and that of haggā is: cvccv. And the form of the word pustaka is cvccv. In all these forms the stem-formative -ad- comes. Another feature to be noted of these forms is that all these are -a ending words. The words with following forms get -ad- as the stem-formative.

1) a) (c)v(c)cv.

b) cvccv.

Now, the form -an- is found with the words Rāma, Kāma, baṇṭa, tuṇṭa, kuṇṭa etc. For example, Rāmana, Kāmanelli, baṇṭanim etc. The form of the words like Rāma is c̄vcv. The difference between the above and this is that here the first vowel is always long; in the above set it was

short. This long vowel is limited to dissyllabic words only, there too, without any consonant clusters. If there is a consonant cluster, (the first member being the nasal) even though the vowel is short, the form -an- comes in the words like ban̄ṭa etc. The form of this word is cvccv. Here also, the words are -a ending. The following rule can be given for -an-:

- 1) a) c̄vcv
- b) cvccv

The stem-formative -in- is found in the words nīru, kūlu, ādu, kaṇṇu, maṇṇu, bisilu, esalu etc. The form of the words nīru, kūlu is c̄vcv and that of ādu is v̄cv. The same form is found for -an- also. But, the difference between the two sets is that -an- comes with cvcv forms with final vowel -a; whereas the form -in- is found in the forms (c)v̄cv where final vowel is -u.

The words kaṇṇu, maṇṇu etc. have the form cvccv and bisilu, esalu have (c)v̄cv̄cv. So in polysyllabic words, the length of the vowel is not important. The form -in- is found in the following form:

- 1) a) (c)v̄cv (final vowel -u).
- b) (c)vccv ( -do- ).
- c) (c)v̄cv̄cv ( -do- ).

It can be seen that these stem-formatives go with a particular form. The selection of the particular stem-formative is decided by the form of the word. Hence, it can be said, that the stem-formatives are decided by the forms.

The stem-forms go with meaning also.

We have established that (c)ṽcv and cvccv (with final -a) forms take -an-. But where are words like kāma, dāna, māna etc. with (c)ṽcv (with -a), and kaṇṭa etc. with cvccv (a) which take -ad-. Hence the rule has to be modified and stated thus: the (c)ṽcv (with -a) and cvccv (with -a) which are masculine take -an-; and the neuter nouns with these forms take -ad-.

Then there is one more stem-formative viz., -ar- which follows meaning only. The words with which this is found is iṣṭu, aṣṭu, ondu, eraḍu etc. If according to form, there must be -in- in these words; but there is -ar- instead. So the rule here is: in the numerals and measurement words, and with third person neuter singular (e.g. adu - ar - adara) only -ar- is found.

So, the stem-formatives in Kannada follow the form in majority of the cases, and also the meaning in some cases.

Now, about case system, three factors can be recognised.

(i) Kāraka, ii) vibhakti and iii) pratyaya. 'Kāraka is  
123  
the relation between a noun or noun-phrase and a verb.'

The Kārakas are defined semantically. Such relation between the noun and a verb is of six kinds: viz., 1) kartā (the independent), 2) Karma (that which is desired by the kartā), 3) karaṇa (the means), 4) sampradāna (one whom the kartā has in view in the act of giving something), 5) apādāna (movement away from the fixed point), and 6) adhikaraṇa (the locus of the action). Sambandha is not considered as kāraka relation since it expresses only a relation between two noun-phrases in a sentence and not between a noun phrase and the verb. Sambandha which is expressed by the genitive case is only indirectly connected with the case. Hence, it  
124  
is not included in the kārakas.

The outward expression of the Kāraka relation is done

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- 123 a) Kāraka is a semantic unit subsuming different shades of meaning-relations which are expressed by vibhakti in actual sentences of the language - kāraka theory and case Grammar II. 31-1, 2 p.18.  
b) Kriyām karotīti kārakam.  
c) kriyānvayitvam kārakatvam.

- 124 sambandhasya kriyānimittatvēpi ṣaṭsu  
kāraka śabdasya rūḍhatvāt na kārakatvamiti  
saṁkṣepaḥ - kalāpa vyākaraṇa - See Chakravarti, p.219.

by vibhakti. Each vibhakti is assigned a primary representation of one kāraka. The definition of the vibhakti by Kāśirāja is: '(The grammatical process) which divides the meaning of a word'.<sup>125</sup> The representation is as follows:

<u>Kāraka</u>	<u>Vibhakti</u>	
1) Kartā	By nominative case in an active sentence, by an instrumental case in a passive <sup>127</sup> sentence.	126
2) Karma	By accusative case in active sentence; and by nominative case in a passive <sup>128</sup> sentence.	128
3) Karana	By the instrumental case. <sup>131</sup>	130
4) Sampradāna	By dative case.	

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125 S.D. sūtra - 45.

126 Aṣṭādhyāyī - 1.3.78.

127 Ibid. 2.3.18.

128 Ibid. 2.3.2.

129 Ibid. 2.3.46.

130 Ibid. 2.3.18.

131 Ibid. 2.3.13.



- 5) Apādāna By the ablative case. 132  
6) Adhikarṇa By the locative case. 133

The vibhakti which represents a particular kāraka expresses itself by means of certain suffixes. Whereas the vibhakti (case) is a grammatical 'function', the suffix is a 'sign' to represent that case. But Kēsirāja is confused and has equated the both, when he says 'antadaṁ pratyayameṁbudu'.<sup>134</sup> These case signs for various vibhaktis in Kannada given by Kēsirāja are: -m, -am, -im, -ke, -attanm, -a, -ol.

The genitive case sign also is found in the scheme, though sambandha is not considered as a kāraka. This contradiction viz., rejecting sambandha from the kāraka relation, but including the same in the cases is difficult to explain. Almost all the grammarians in Kannada have done this. A feature of the case signs in Kannada is that they are affixed to the basic stem in the singular; but after the form stem plus plural suffix in the plural. In Kannada the suffix is added in such a way that 'the constitution of the word is clearly visible' and this 'transparence of the

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132 Ibid. 2.3.28.

133 Ibid. 2.5.36.

134 S.D. sūtra - 45.

morphological system' is characteristic of Kannada and other  
135  
Dravidian languages. Hence Kannada is called Agglutina-  
tive language.

In a simple sentence each karaka has only one repre-  
sentation by a vibhakti. But, the kāraka is represented by  
136  
more than one case also. For this Fillmore and other  
modern linguistics recognise two structures in the language.

One 'Deep structure' and the other 'surface structure'.

'The most apparent layer constitutes the surface structure',  
137  
and 'the structure lying beneath it is called deep structure.'

For example, the subject of a sentence in the surface stru-  
cture may represent i) a kartā - logical subject, ii) a  
138  
karma, iii) karaṇa, and even iv) adhikaraṇa. But at the  
'deep structure there is only grammatical subject. So, it  
may be said that the kāraka relation represents the deep  
structure and the vibhakti represents the surface structure.  
The difference is between the function of the noun phrases

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135 Grammatical structure of the Dravidian languages -  
Bloch, p.1.

136 'The case for Case' - C.J.Fillmore - in 'Universals  
in Linguistics Theory - ed. Emmon Back & Robert  
Harms - 1968.

137 C.F.Hockett, p.249.

138 The Kāraka Theory and Case-Grammar - I.L. 31-1-2.  
p.17.

in a sentence ( surface structure) and their semantic values or the relation with which they are connected with the verb in the abstract structures (deep structure). There is a difference in terminology also - as it should be - in both the structures. Fillmore uses 'subject' and 'object' in surface structure and 'Agentive' and 'objective' in deep structure.<sup>139</sup>

The single kāraka or deep-case may be expressed in surface structure in more than one way, i.e. in more than one vibhakti. For example, for nominative, the genitive,<sup>140</sup> and dative cases may be used. Similarly a single vibhakti may represent more than one kāraka. For example the dative<sup>141</sup> case is used for accusative also. The first phenomenon mentioned above is called 'diversification' and the second one 'neutralization' in stratificational grammars. All this transfer of cases is treated under 'vibhakti pallata' by Kēśi rāja and other grammarians. A particular case is transferred in a surface structure to represent a particular kāraka in the deep structure. This transfer of cases is termed as functional syncreticism also by some scholars.<sup>142</sup>

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139 Case-Grammar - Fillmore.

140 S.D. sūtra - 147.

141 S.D. sūtra - 147.

142 Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute - 2-p. 209-'10.



The Qualifiers

'The words which terminate in -tu and -du as in olli-  
ttu, mellitu, betttitu, tellitu, basidu, asidu, kaḍidu,  
nidiḍu, etc. are qualifiers. Sometimes -tu is doubled. 143

There are some qualifiers which end in -tu or -du. Of  
these - tu is sometimes doubled. For example, baṭttitu-  
baṭttittu, taṇṇitu-taṇṇittu etc. karidu, bilidu, paḷadu,  
bisidu, asidu,

In the next sūtra, Kēsirāja talks of the gender of  
these qualifiers: 'The gender of the substantive will be  
for the qualifier also. Because of the substantive, the  
gender of the qualifier is effective. This is seen fault-  
144  
lessly in rūpaka.'

There are two kinds: Because of the qualifier, the  
gender of the substantive is adjusted; and as per the gender  
of the substantive, the qualifier will be adjusted. This  
is faultless in rūpaka.

In the verse 'udayāstōnnata' etc. on the strength of  
the adjectives, the form nelanam is to be readjusted as  
dharāvanite. The example for the strength of substantive  
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143 S.D. sūtra - 87.

144 S.D. sūtra - 167.

which influences the qualifier is: ātam jagaddarpanam, ā  
pen jagaddarpane, adu jagaddarpanam.

'Poragu, olagu, posatu, paladu, eladu, - all these when  
145  
come in compounds drop the penultimate vowel and add -a.'

For example: pora ādi, ola aṭṭam etc.

'In adjectives, -tu becomes the third varṇa. The  
first varṇa of -avu is dropped. In masculine and feminine  
146  
-ir, -ar, and -dir come.'

For example, ollitu ollidu - avu olliduvu  
beṭṭitu beṭṭidu - avu beṭṭiduvu etc.

'In masculine, the words paratu, peradu, drop their  
final -tu and -du. In qualifiers, for -du, -a comes. If  
147  
that qualifier has -tu, then there will be -da'.

'For eladu, paladu etc. if there is -a of the masculine,  
the middle will be short e. For the ri in beride, there  
148  
will be u. For -tu in posatu, there will be b with bindu.'

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145 S.D. sūtra - 68.

146 S.D. sūtra - 107.

147 S.D. sūtra - 163.

148 S.D. sūtra - 164.

For example, eḷadu - eḷeyampaladu - paḷeyam.

For feminine also. eḷadu - eḷeyal  
posatu - posambam etc.

Kēsirāja does not give the definition etc. of the qualifier. But, straightway lists the forms. The forms ending in -tu (e.g. bettitu etc.), and those ending in -du (e.g. bilidu, karidu etc.) etc..

As adjectives were previously listed as having dependent gender - being dependent on the substantive, it was not necessary to give this sūtra No.167 here. Because, the gender of the adjectives follows that of the substantive, the second part of this sūtra was also not necessary as the gender of the noun is the gender of the pronoun or qualifier also..

In the sūtra 68 the forms poragu, olaḡu, posatu etc. are the adjectival nouns. The forms -gu, -tu, -du etc. are the forms which nominalize the adjectives. So, when these forms are dropped whether in compounds or other places, they are adjectives. Pora, ola etc. are adjectival forms.

Whether it should be stated, as Kēsirāja has done, that the words of poratu, peradu etc. drop -du, -tu etc. and become adjectives, or is it better to state that if to

the adjectival forms the nominal suffixes like -tu, -du, etc. are added to form the nominal forms ? The point is which is basic ?

Dr.Caldwell says that the 'Dravidian adjectives, properly so called, .... are nouns of quality or relation, which acquire the signification of adjectives merely by being prefixed to substantive nouns without declensional change.'<sup>149</sup> In Kannada the adjectives are called 'guna vacanas'. But, Dr.Caldwell also says that these nouns of quality or relation, become adjectives by position alone, without any structural change whatever, and without ceasing<sup>150</sup> to be, in themselves nouns of quality. As will be made clear, Caldwell's statement is partially true. For this purpose, let us study the structure of the adjectives in Kannada. The adjectives do not change in gender, number and case, according to the gender, number and case of the nouns they qualify. Declinable participles, numerals and pronouns are used as adjectives.

The adjectives have two kinds of usage. One attributively, two, predicatively. If it is used attributively, it precedes the noun it qualifies. If used predicatively, it

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149 Caldwell, p.308.

150 Ibid. p.309.

comes after the noun, and agrees in number and gender with its substantive. Two types may be recognised in the attributives: 1) pure adjectives, and 2) nouns which by their position behave like adjectives. Pure adjectives are those which always qualify the nouns. They are:

- 1) biru - birugāli, birunudi
- 2) mel - melnaḍe, melnudi
- 3) tel - telgadampu, telnaḍu.
- 4) tōr - tōramuttu, tōraḍode.
- 5) kūr - kūraṣi, kūraḷagu.
- 6) nēr - nērgoral
- 7) nun - nunḍani, nunḍode
- 8) taṇ - taṇḡadir
- 9) baḷ - balluli, ballāl
- 10) biṇ - biṇpore, biṇmole
- 11) beḷ - beḷḡadir, beḷḡāvare.
- 12) asi - asiṇaḍu, asiṇeraḷ
- 13) kaḍu - kaḍunudi, kaḍukōpa
- 14) niḍu - niḍumūgu, niḍuḍōḷ
- 15) in - immāvu, induṭi
- 16) ken - kendāvare, kennīr
- 17) pasu - pasidovāl
- 18) kuḍu - kuḍuḡōḷ
- 19) kiru - kiruḡatti
- 20) per - perḍode, perḡaḍe

151

- 21) nal - nalnuḍi, nalvātu
- 22) pora - pora adi
- 23) ola - ola attam
- 24) posa - posa adake
- 25) pala - pala alagu
- 26) ela - ela anca
- 27) kari -
- 28) bili -
- 29) bisī -

If the forms -tu, -du pronominal forms are added to the adjectives, the nouns forms are formed. For example, posatu, bilidu, karidu.

The second variety is that of nominal adjectives. That is, nouns which behave as adjectives. In Kannada if two nouns come one after the other, the previous one qualifies the following one. For example, ravi tējam: kapi buddhi, dhvani lipi etc. In these examples, ravi, kapi, dhvani, lipi are nouns. But because they have come before the nouns, they qualify those nouns.

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151 A.N.Narasimhayya lists only four such adjectives as found in the inscriptions viz., nal, per, vel and ini. See A.N.Narasimhayya - p.164.

The third category that is found in adjectives is the verbal adjectives. The stem with past or future tense suffix, when comes before the noun, behaves as the adjective. For example, mēḍida kāryam, mēḍuva kāryam etc. Similarly, <sup>152</sup>āda, koṭṭa, tanda, biṭṭa, alida, keḍisuva, kūḍuva etc.

The fourth category of adjectives is the use of numerals as adjectives. For example, irpattondu divasam, mūru tiṅgaḷul. Another type found in the numeral adjectives is: By suffixing -aneyā to the numerals, the adjectives are formed. For example, ēḷaneyā, eṇḍaneyā etc.

In the same way, the suffixes -anna, -appa, -aṇa also form adjectives. Here, the point to be noted is that these suffixes are applied to the adjectives themselves. The form taṇ - anna - taṇṇanna, beḷ - anna - beḷḷanna. Sometimes, they are applied to nouns which are derived from the original adjectives. eḷa - du - eḷadu, eḷadu - appa - eḷadappa (pasu), beṭṭitappa dhvani, eḷeyalaḷappa kuvari, oḷḷitaha ratnam, piridaha icche etc.

It can be seen from the above discussion that in Kannada there exist pure adjectives as well as positional adjectives. Hence, Dr.Caldwell's statement that all the

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Dravidian languages contain only positional adjectives is only a partial truth.

Kēsirāja's treatment of the adjectives is very scanty. It is again, a piece-meal treatment. More than the adjectives, he has treated, and given adjectival nouns. It is left to us to derive adjectival forms from these adjectival nouns.

Pronouns:

A variety in the nouns is pronouns (sarvanāma). 'The words adu, idu, udu, avudu, alladu, peratu, ēn, peradu etc. are nouns.'<sup>153</sup>

'The pronoun ēn is used, as it stands, for all the genders, in the singular. It is also used in the plural in poetical works.'<sup>154</sup>

The pronoun ēn behaves as singular in singular forms, plural in plural forms. It has the same form in all the three genders.

'The forms nim, ām, tām... are vācyaliṅga.'<sup>155</sup>

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153 S.D. sūtra - 88.

154 S.D. sūtra - 89.

155 S.D. sūtra - 99.

'For the nominative, the forms will be nīn, ān, tān.  
For the dative, ninage, enage, tanage. For the rest, nin,  
156  
en, tan which are stem forms.'

'For ninnadu, ennadu, tennadu, there will be the forms  
ninatu, enatu, tanatu. Optionally ninattu, enattu, tanattu  
also are found. For plural, the forms are nimatu, ematu,  
and tamatu.'. Optionally they are doubled as nimattu,  
157  
emattu and tamattu.'

'If after emma, tamma, there are words indicating  
numerals with vowel beginning, the form - utu comes in  
158  
the middle. The word ondu should not be used in plural.'

The examples are nimmutirvarum, emmutavyarum, tammu-  
taruvarum.

'In the utterance, the word ettana becomes ettantu,  
159  
and ār becomes ārtu.'

'In the masculine for the last -du of adu, idu, udu,  
the phoneme -y comes as a substitute. Sometimes for that

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156 S.D. sūtra - 157.

157 S.D. sūtra - 158.

158 S.D. sūtra - 159.

159 S.D. sūtra - 160.

-du, the form -ta comes with the previous long vowel.<sup>160</sup>

For example, adu-avam, idu-ivam, udu-uvam. In plural avar, ivar, uvar. For -ta. ādu-ātam, idu-ītam, udu-ūtam. For plural, ātaṅgaḷ, ītaṅgaḷ, ūtaṅgaḷ.

'For the word āvudu, āvam comes in the masculine singular and -ar comes in the masculine plural. For the word elladu, in all the genders, the ellam form is found.<sup>161</sup>

'For the form -du in the pronouns adu, idu, udu in feminine - the form -vaḷ comes. If there is -ke substituted for that -du, as in masculine, the previous vowel is<sup>162</sup> lengthened.' For example, adu-avaḷ, idu-ivaḷ, udu-uvaḷ, adu-āke, idu-īke, udu-ūke.

'The last phoneme of the pronominal bases, when comes in conjunction with the first phoneme of avu, is dropped. The form -du at the final position of the adjectives is<sup>163</sup> also dropped.'

The whole treatment of pronouns by Kēsirāja is very haphazard. There is, it seems, no basis for his treatment.

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160 S.D. sūtra - 161.

161 S.D. sūtra - 162.

162 S.D. sūtra - 165.

163 S.D. sūtra - 106.

Firstly, the data relating to pronouns is thrown in many places. Hence, there is no consistent thread in his treatment. The data has to be gathered from many chapters. Secondly, there is no continuous treatment of the subject; it all appears to be a piece-meal treatment. Some pronouns individually are treated in one sūtra; some other pronouns in some other place. Instead of talking of individual forms, if he had treated the pronouns together, he would have avoided great many slip-shods, and many unnecessary statements. Instead of saying nīn, ān, tān are nominative forms, and in date they will be nīnage, enage, tanage etc; he would have given the base forms and the oblique forms. Thus, it would have been a comprehensive statement. Thirdly, Kēśirāja has committed a great fallacy by assuming some neuter nouns (e.g. adu, idu, udu) as basic, from which all the other forms are somehow derived. Especially, the derivations of avan, ivan, uvan, aval, ival, uval; ātam, itam, ūtam; and āke, īke, ūke from adu, idu, udu are, it must be said to be fantastic. With all the weakness of Kēśirāja in his derivations, it is interesting to note that like a true formal grammarian, he has derived the forms on the basis of the forms only, without taking any help from meaning side. The formal grammarian of Kēśirāja makes his presence felt in at least one of these instances.

The pronominal forms given by Kēsirāja are:

nīn, ān, tān; nīm, ām, tām, ninnadu, ennadu, tannadu;  
ninatu, enatu, tanatu, nimatu, ematu, tamatu; nimattu,  
emattu, tamattu, adu, idu, udu, avan, iven, uven, ātem,  
ītem, ūtem; aval, īval, ūval, āke, īke, ūke; ēn, ār, āvudu,  
ettana, ettantu.

The pronouns in Kannada may be classified into four kinds:

- 1) Personal pronouns.
- 2) Demonstrative pronouns.
- 3) Interrogative pronouns.
- 4) Reflexive pronouns.

1) Personal pronouns:

Personal pronouns are derived from pronominal bases susceptible to gender. These pronouns are declined like all other nouns. The pronouns of the first and second persons, and reflexive persons do not change for gender. Their gender will be that of the nouns for which they are used.

A notable point is that Kēsirāja does not specifically say that nīn, ān, tān are pronouns. He terms them uktis. While listing pronouns specifically, he lists the other

eight. The first person singular form given by Kēsīrāja is ān. And the first person plural form is ām. In first person plural, Kēsīrāja has not mentioned a significant feature which is found in almost all the Dravidian languages. That is, the distinction between exclusive and inclusive plural. As he has given only one form ām, such a question does not arise. But, the old Kannada which is being described by Kēsīrāja did contain such a distinction, though in modern Kannada it is not found. We can have evidence to show that there were two forms found. 164 The first person plural inclusive form was nām and exclusive form was ām.

The second person singular pronoun is nīn. and plural pronoun is nīm.

The third person forms are susceptible to gender. Hence, there are three forms in third person singular, avan (masculine) - 'he', aval (feminine), 'she', edu (neuter) 'it'. These forms are to indicate the distant person or object. Another set of forms indicate proximate person or object.

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164 a) R.Narasimhachar, History of Kannada Language, p.84.

b) Pronouns in Vaddārādhane - Indian Linguistics - Vol. 16.

They are: <sup>165</sup>ivan (masculine), ival (feminine), idu (neuter). Kēsirāja also gives the intermediate forms like uvan, uval, udu of which no trace is found either in the inscriptions or any works available to us. Perhaps, he has given a theoretical possibility.

In the third person plural we have only two categories as against three in the singular. The distinction is between human and non-human forms. All the human forms viz., masculine and feminine form one set, and the non-human i.e. <sup>166</sup>neuter forms another set. The plural forms are: avar- they, avu- 'they', ivar 'these' (near), ivu - 'these' (near).

All these personal pronouns have oblique forms before the case-suffixes. These pronominal forms along with their oblique forms may be listed as follows:

	Singular (oblique)	Plural (oblique)
First person	ān - en-	ām (excl.) - en - nām(incl.) - nam -

165 In the forms listed by A.N.Narasimhayya (p.178) and G.S.Gai (p.69) ivan and idu forms are found, but not ival.

166 Similar system is found in Tamil. Telugu system differs in that it divides into mahat (masculine) and amahat (rest). See Telugu Verbal Bases.

	Singular (oblique)	Plural (oblique)
Second person	nīn-	nin - nīm-      nim-
Third person	(masc.)	avan <sup>167</sup> {
	(fem. )	aval { avar
	(neut.)	adu      avu
	(masc.)	ivan {
	(fem. )	ival { ivar
	(neut.)	idu      ivu

The third person form are formed by the combination of the demonstrative bases plus the nominal suffix.

Then there are other forms in the third person., ātam, ītam, ūtam and āke, īke, ūke. The forms ātam, ītam, ūtam will be considered under reflexive pronouns. Now, about the forms āke, īke, ūke. The composition of these forms is the demonstrative base ā, ī, ū plus -ke. What is the meaning of -ke? In Tamil there is a word kei which was indicating femininity, and was used independently or in other words. Kei - 'sister' tangei-sister, which has, in Kannada, the form tangi. <sup>168</sup> As is found in Kannada, the final ei (or ay) of proto-Dravidian is changed to e in Kannada.

167 The third person forms behave similarly.

168 Caldwell - p.400.

This might have been the case in kei form also ( ke). This form in conjunction with demonstrative base yields the forms <sup>169</sup>āke, īke, ūke. Some scholars treat the 3rd person pronouns.

Demonstrative	-	3rd per. pronoun	-	Gender / Number
av/iv	-	a	-	n 1 .
a	-	ø	-	du ø

## 2) The Demonstrative Pronouns:

The demonstrative pronouns are three in number viz., ā (distant), ī (proximate), u (intermediate). These demonstrative forms underlie the third person pronominal forms like avan (ā - an - āvan), ivan (ī - an - īvan), uvan (ū - an - ūvan). These forms are used as adjectives <sup>170</sup> also. For example, ā kaṇantūraṇaṁ, ī dharṇi-<sup>171</sup>yul. Kēsirāja has not separately treated these.

169 P.G.Kulkarni says that the genderless form -ku (connected also with Tamil dative suffix), become -ke and when joined to the demonstrative base might have attained the feminine meaning - See, Ka.Bhas. cha. p.261.

170 But in some monosyllabic words such as kay, kei, may, mey etc., this change is not noticed.

171 A.N.Naresimhayya- p.80.

3) Reflexive Pronouns:

tān (first person singular), tām (first person plural) are the forms given by Kēsīrāja. The oblique forms are tan - and tam - respectively. The reflexive forms are used in the honorific sense. Kēsīrāja has given reflexive forms for first person. Are there any reflexive pronominal forms for the third person also? There are some forms like ātam, ītam and ūtam given by Kēsīrāja. What may be their derivation? Kēsīrāja says that -ta is substituted for -du in adu, idu and udu which seems ridiculous. If that is so any form can be derived from a particular form. The demonstrative base ā, ī, ū taken out from these forms, the portion that remains is tām. Can it be connected with the reflexive form? For example, ātam from ā - tām; ītam from ī - tām; and ūtam from ū - tām.<sup>172</sup> Hence, for the third person also, the reflexive pronominal category can be established.

4) Interrogative Pronoun:

ēn, ār, āvudu, ettana, ettantu are the interrogative pronominal forms given by Kēsīrāja. Of these ēn is used for

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172 'Personal and Reflexive Pronouns in Dravidian' - Paper read at the Seminar on Dravidian Linguistics - II Annamalai, 1969.

every gender; ā is used for plural, āvudu is used for  
neuter gender only, ettana with its variant ettantu is used  
in the sense of direction.

## COMPOUNDS (SAMĀSA)

The word 'Samāsa' literally means brevity<sup>1</sup>, i.e. concise expression. Hence, this grammatical device has the advantage of condensing a sentence without any change of signification. Here, not only two nouns are combined in a compound, but also their meanings, to give a composite idea. Sarvavarman says, nāmnām samāsa yuktārthah 'meaning' consistent unification of the meanings of two or more nouns.<sup>2</sup>

Kesiraja starts the treatment of samāsas with the following sūtra: 'like the youngling being with the mother, the nouns following the meaning enter into compound. Here, the case-suffixes inside the samāsa are dropped.'<sup>3</sup>

When two words are combined to form a compound, the case suffixes of the first components are dropped. For example, toreya+māvu = toremāvu, edeya+nuḍi = edenudī, nīram+kudīdam - nīrgudīdam etc.

"The addition, if it does not spoil what is already there, is āgama (insertion). Such additions are also dropped along with the dropping of case-suffixes. The addition if it affects the existing form is adēsha (mutation).'<sup>4</sup>

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1. See P.C.Chakravarti - p.281.
  2. Ibid.
  3. S.D. sūtra - 173
  4. S.D. sūtra - 174.

If there is some addition without affecting the existing form, it is called āgama (insertion). This insertion is for the purpose of adding case-suffixes. Hence, if the case suffix is dropped, the āgama element also is dropped along with it. For example, māṭina + ballaham = māṭuvallaham, nūrara + pattu = nurapattu, teṅkena + vaṅkam = teṅkavankam.

The addition, if it affects the existing form is called ādēsha (mutation). For example, keḷagaṇa + kombu = kīlḷkombu, eraḍu + mey = irney.

'No compounding with Kannada and Sanskrit. Some used by the previous poets should be known. If Kannada and Sanskrit are mixed, it is called arisaṁāsa fault'.<sup>5</sup>

Examples:

arisaṁāsa: mukhatāvare, arasukumāram etc.  
Previously used: kadurāgam, mogarāgam, mārbalam etc.  
Epithets: Gajaduḷi, Gajapāru etc.

In the following sūtra, Kesiraja gives the nature of some compounds: If it is following the meaning of the latter constituent, it is Tatpuruṣa. If mutually dependent, the tatpuruṣa becomes the Karmadhāraya. If the first constituent is numeral, it is dvigu.<sup>6</sup>

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5. S.D. sūtra - 185

6. S.D. sūtra - 175

As each of these compounds are separately treated, the detailed discussion will be attempted in those places.

Examples:

Tatpuruṣa:	malligenane, maṇikagempu, alarvakki
Karmadhāraya:	Telgadampu, melnuḍi, kirugūsu
Dvigu:	eralmātu, eraltaram, irpendir.

In the next sūtra, the nature of some more varieties is given: 'Two or more words, if lead to a third meaning, it is Bahuvrīhi. Combination of words is dvandva. If the first constituent is predominant, it is avyayibhāva.'<sup>7</sup>

Examples:

Bahuvrīhi:	kaduonāgi, calavādi, niḍumūgi
Dvandva: <sup>8</sup>	aṭapātakūtangal, maragiduballi
Avyayibhāva:	kilpode, aṅgay, angāl

In the following sūtra, some changes in the avyayibhāva are treated: 'There will be bindu for the last syllable of adi and mēgu. There will be elision for the last syllable in the words mundu, pindu. Kelagu becomes kil and perage becomes pintu in avyayibhāva'.<sup>9</sup>

Examples:

adi:	aṅgay, angāl
mēgu:	mēṅgay, mēṅgāl
mundu:	muṅgay, mungāl, muṅjūr

7. S.D. sūtra-176

8. Avyayibhāva is called 'amsi' by Bhattakalanka.  
See Kar. Śabda.

9. S.D. sūtra - 177.

pindu:	piṅgal, pimboltu
kil:	kilkere, kilpode
perage:	pintil, pintole

The examples aṅgay, aṅgāl etc. can be dissolved as an+kay and an+kal. Is an-the resultant form of adi ? In Tamil the form is akam-kay. Can this an-be connected to it? It requires still more investigation.

In the next sūtra, the nature of the verbal compound is given: 'In the verbal compound, the first member will be kāraka, and the second member will be verbal root. There will be bindu always for the -a in Sanskrit words. For -a and -u in Kannada words, bindu is optional'.<sup>10</sup>

Examples:

baledottam, kaḷegondam, marevokkam

Compulsory bindu in Sanskrit words:

guṇaṅgondam. dhanambaḍedam. raṅgambokkam

Optional bindu in Kannada words:

mogaṃnōḍidam - mogaṇōḍidam,

pada goṇḍam-padaṅgondam

-u: puḍuṅgondam-puḍugoṇḍam

If the meaning is spoiled in the absence of it, bindu is compulsory in Kannada e.g. payaṇambōdam, gaḍaṇaṅgondam, kelasambokkam.

The nature of the tatpuruṣa samāsa is given in the following sūtra: 'If it is following the meaning of the latter constituent it is tatpuruṣa'.

The example are malligenane, manikagempu etc., where the meaning of the first member is dependent on that of the second one. In manikagempu the emphasis is on kempu and the component manika gives the idea of the nature of that red.

In the next sūtra, the changes in the tatpuruṣa are dealt with: "The word final phoneme is dropped sometimes. Sometimes some vowel is inserted. For kelage, there will be kil and kin as mutation forms".<sup>11</sup>

Examples:

Dropping of the word final phoneme: olakōṇṭe, teṅgāli, aramane

Insertion: nattaḡombu, natteṭevane

Kil: kilkombu, kilkaṇe, kilkaḡaḡal

kin: kinnir, kinnelam

In the following sūtras, the karmadhāraya samāsa is treated: 'If mutually dependent, the tatpuruṣa becomes Karmadhāraya'.

If, instead of one member being dependent on the other as in Tatpuruṣa, both the members are mutually

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dependent, it is Karmadhāraya. For example, melnudi, balmugul etc. Here, neither of the components has any independent function. These examples are mutually dependent to give a composite meaning. A distinguishing feature between tatpuruṣa and Karmadhāraya as seen from the examples in Sabdamāni Darpaṇa, is that in Karmadhāraya, the first member is usually a pure adjective; whereas in tatpuruṣa the noun itself behaves as an adjective.

In the following sūtra, some changes that are found in the Karmadhāraya are given: If the first member is a verbal noun and the second member contains the g, d, b, j, there will be bindu with i and u. In some words it is not found.<sup>12</sup>

#### Examples

-u+g - um+g - ettungōl, puttungurudam etc  
-u+d - um+d - urkundore, tugundottil, etc.  
-u+b - um+b - ottumballi, adumbolam  
-u+j - um+j - eruñjavvanam, tuguñjodar  
optional - siḍiyundale, iliyumboltu

Some samasas are given in the following sūtra:  
'suḍugaḍu, iḍugircu, aḍugūl, uḍugore, mārudāntu, biḍugan, biḍuvāy, tuḍujodar, arugere - all these are samāsas. There is no bindu even in -u ending words'.<sup>13</sup>

12. S.D. sūtra - 181

13. S.D. sūtra - 182

There is an interesting point here. In the sūtra it is said that 'if the second member contains g,d,b,j, there will be bindu with i and u'. The examples are: ettu+kol -ettungōl, puttū+kurūdu - puttungurūdu, ottu+balli ottumballi, etc. The basic words contain k,t,p,c, and not g,d,b,j (except in the last one). The sounds g,d,b,j are found in resultant samāsa. Hence, Kesiraja would have said k,t,p,c, and not g,d,b,j.

"Even though there is no verbal noun, -u and -a ending words, get bindu. When a is added to n and n, and u to l, there will be bindu".<sup>14</sup>

Examples:

-u:	-	kakkundari, dakkundale
-a:	-	bakkambayal, kallangadale
-n:	-	mīnambul, bānangulige
-ṇ:	-	kamṇandolali
-l:	-	bellumbatte

'For perage, there will be peda mutated form and bindu. As in tadagāl, some people pronounce it without bindu also.'<sup>15</sup>

Examples:

bindu:	peḍaṅgay, peḍandale, peḍaṅgāl
nobindu:	peḍagay, peḍadale, peḍagōl

14. S.D. sūtra - 183

15. S.D. sūtra - 184

The examples show that whether with bindu or without bindu the examples were correct.

In the next sūtra, some individual words in compounds are treated: 'The word ella becomes, optionally, long finally. For the word mahat, there will be mā as the mutation form. There is no fault even if Sanskrit words come with these".<sup>16</sup>

In the following sūtra, the changes common to some samāśas are given: 'In Karmadhāraya, dvigu, dvandva, and kriya samāśas, the word-final syllable of the first member is dropped."<sup>17</sup>

Examples:

karmadhāraya:	baḍavu+naḍu - baḍanaḍu
	arasu+nēril - araneril
Dvigu:	palavu+devasam - paladevasam
Dvandva:	tamma+tamma - tantamma
Verbal:	poguṭandam - pōtandam

'In the Karmadhāraya, in the word-middle position a comes. Sometimes, word-middle part is dropped." <sup>18</sup>

Examples:

For dropping of the final part and insertion of a:

battittu toḍe - battaḍoḍe, betṭittuḍēṣage-betṭavēṣage.

Dropping of the middle-word:

alarantappa+kaṇ - alargan, perenosai, tumbigurul etc.

16. S.D. sūtra - 186

17. S.D. sūtra - 188

18. S.D. sūtra - 189

'In Karmadhāraya, if the second member is a substantive, the penultimate vowel of the first member is dropped. The word-beginning i- sometimes becomes e-" 19

Examples:

dropping of penultimate vowel: telvaṣir, olnuḍi

i e- : permole, permaram, permavu

no change: biṅgone, biṅpore, immavu

'If the vowel comes after the vowel in the beginning of the word becomes long. If there are t, n, l, n, ṭ at the end of the first member they are doubled". 20

Examples:

for length: pēraṇe, pēraḍavi, pērokkal, pēraḍi

for doubling:

for n: pennuḍe, tannelar

for ṭ: kattaṭayam, kattaṭelge, kattaṭalke

for l: bellane, ollal

for n: innunisu

for t: kuttadi, kittiḷe, kuttasal, kittadi

Optionally even if consonant follows, initial vowel is lengthened: - iṅcharam, imbuli, iṅgaḍal.

"If the vowel comes after the words kaḍiḍu, niḍiḍu and naḍuve, the ḍa in those words becomes ṭ. For the r in kiṛiḍu there is t. Similarly, in kuru also there is t. If the consonant comes after, there will be u in the previous word". 21

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19. S.D. sūtra - 190  
 20. S.D. sūtra - 191  
 21. S.D. sūtra - 192

Examples:

t:                   kaṭṭal, kaṭṭubbasam; niṭṭadakil.  
                       nattadavi, nattaḷam, nattirul.  
 t:                   kittadi, kittiḷe, kittesal  
 u:                   kaḍugudure, kaḍugāḷi; niḍudōḷ;  
                       naḍumāḷam. kirugūsu, kirunelli

"For ca in paccane, koccane, beccane, there is m.  
 For ke- in keccane, there is co- sometimes. For the  
 final -m in these words, there is -su, and for -e there  
 is -i".<sup>22</sup>

Examples:

paccane+talir - pandalir; pandoval, pandale etc.  
 keccane+ṭjede - kenjede; kengode, kendalir etc.  
 beccane kadir - bengadir, bennir etc.  
 ce -               - ceṅganagile, cembon, cendengu  
 i+su:             kisuganagil, kisugāl, kisugaṭṭu, bisugadir,  
                       bisunettar.  
                       pasuṅgarī, pasurvandar  
                       paccōle, paccadake  
                       kēsadi, kēsakki, kēsuri

"In the compounds, the final d of the first member,  
 if followed by a consonant, becomes ḷ; for r there will  
 be r. Optionally means even in non-compounds also".<sup>23</sup>

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 22. S.D. sūtra - 193

23. S.D. sūtra - 194

for d l : kalkir̥cu, kōlkuṭṭu, nālkaḍe

for r r : kesarmallige, nēsarmayaṇam

In non-compounds also: onderaḷmūru kesarmasagidudu.

For kir̥idu, kuru, for betṭitu, bir̥u, for koṇku, kuḍu are the mutation forms. r, whether in compound or not, is doubled.<sup>24</sup>

kurugaddam, kurugay: bir̥ubir̥dam, birugali, kuḍuvurvu, kuḍugōl.

doubling of r: nīrrvānase, kārrgāl

In non-compounds: bērrpar̥idudu, kērrked̥edudu.

In the next few sūtras, the bahuvr̥ihi compound is treated: 'If two actions are common, it is bahuvr̥ihi. For the first word-final, there will be -a, and second word-final there is -i.'<sup>25</sup>

If the action is done by both the components mutually, it is bahuvr̥ihi.

For example, that battle where the swords are used by both the parties is: khadgākhaḍgi. Similarly, dandādandi, dhalādhalī etc.

"Optionally, compound-final in bahuvr̥ihi gets -a or -i. If second member is illa, the final syllable becomes li. If the word kol is the second member, it becomes kuli."<sup>26</sup>

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24. S.D. sūtra - 195

25. S.D. sūtra - 196

26. S.D. sūtra - 197

-a:	alargannam, baṭṭadodeyam, kēsadiyam
-i:	kaḍugelasi, nidumūgi, calawādi
-li:	pallilivāy, belagiligaṇ, nāniliven
-kuli:	mīnguli, araguli

In the following some sūtras, some changes in dvigu are noted: 'For ondu, or<sub>1</sub> is the mutation form. For eraḍu, ir<sub>1</sub> is the mutation form. In eraḍu -u is dropped and ḍ becomes ḷ.' 27

Examples:

ondu+nudi: — ornudi, orpesar, orpiḍi etc.

dropping of u: eraḷkudure, eraḷmātu

"If consonant follows, the final syllable of muru is dropped. If k-varga or p-varga follows, they are doubled, and the previous one is shortened. If vowel follows, there will be muy for mūru". 28

dropping of final syllable of mūru: mūviṭṭi, mūgoṇku, mūnūru  
for shortening and doubling: muppuṇi, mukuppe, mummāru

Even in other vargas: muccōtu, muccēre

Sometimes no doubling: mūgēṇ, mūgāvudam

muy: muyyādi, muyyīrādi

"In the word nālku the final syllable is dropped. There will be the shortening of the vowel in ar. For

27. S.D. sūtra - 198

28. S.D. sūtra - 199

ēlu, ēl is the mutation form. The final syllable of entu is dropped."<sup>29</sup>

-nāl:	nālvadi, nālvattu, nālveraḷ
-ay:	ayvadi, aygandugam
aru:	aruvadi, aruvattu, arunūru
el:	ēlpattu, ēlkaḍal, ēlpore
en:	enbattu, endese

"If pattu comes after, ombattu becomes tom-. If the second member is mūru or sāsira, ombattu gets ombay- as the mutation form."<sup>30</sup>

tombattu. ombaynūru, ombaysāsira.

"If pattu comes before sāsira, it becomes payine. Sometimes for nūru and sāsira, the final vowel is dropped."<sup>31</sup>

payiñchāsiraṁ, nūrmadi, nūrmātu, sāsirmadi, sāsirvar.

"If ondu, eraḍu are the second members, pattu becomes pan-. If mūru and nālku comes as the second member pattu becomes padi. If vowel comes after in the rest n is inserted."<sup>32</sup>

pan:	pannondu, panneradu
padi:	padimūru, padinālku
for n:	padinaydu, padināru
pat:	pattombattu

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29. S.D. sūtra - 200  
 30. S.D. sūtra - 201  
 31. S.D. sūtra - 202  
 32. S.D. sūtra - 203

In the following two sūtras, Kesiraja has introduced Gamaka Samāsa: 'If the first member is numeral, pronoun, adjective and verbal theme, it is called Gamaka. There will be a in the middle and -i after that a. There is no arisamāsa fault in Gamaka. It is the variety of karmadhāraya. And due to -um, it is tatpuruṣa everywhere.<sup>33</sup>

Examples:

Numeral tatpuruṣa: irpattaidu, nūrapattu  
Pronouns: āvamātu, āvākāryam, āvakānte  
Adjective: asiyanadu, pasiyabannam  
Krit: pāḍuvatumbi, āḍiḍaḥpolam  
No arisamāsa fault: bīsuvacāmaram, poḍevabhēri

'In Gamaka, in place of adu, idu, udu, there will be ā, ī, ū as mutation forms. In the opinion of the ancient scholars, a is used in remembering the past' and 'rudhi'.<sup>34</sup>

Examples:

ādēśha: ā mane, ī mane  
remembrance: nenedanā hiranyakam  
prasiddhi: gajahayarudhiyolā bhagadattaninā nalanim  
migilādam

Before considering the questions like whether Gamaka Samāsa is to be treated as samāsa etc. let us be clear about the Gamaka Samāsa itself.

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33. S.D. sūtra - 179

34. S.D. sūtra - 180

Kēsirāja has stated the characteristics of the Gamaka Samāsa in two sūtras (no's 179 and 180). If the first member is numeral, pronoun, adjective or verbal theme, and the second member is kāraka, it is called Gamaka Samāsa. To treat one by one. All the adjectives are not pertinent for Gamaka Samāsa. It should have -i in the middle of the word e.g. asidu, pasidu, kiridu, piridu, nididu etc. and there must be a after -i in the samāsa e.g. asiyanadu, pasiyabannam, kiriyatnagam, piriyanagam etc.

Examples for pronoun as the first member are:  
āvanāyakam, āvakānta, āvakāryam etc.

Examples for numerals are: irpattaidu, mūvattāru,  
nūrupattu.

And for verbal themes: pāḍuvatumbi, āḍiḍapolam,  
poḍevabhēri, piḍivakahale  
etc.

Examples for adu, idu, udu are: ā mane, ī mane, ū mane  
etc.

And ellākāryam, māḍāni, māḍēvi etc.

The above examples reveal the following points:

1. Both first and the second words are in the same case. According to the Sanskrit grammarians such instances are the examples of Karmadhāraya samāsa. The examples for the karmadhāraya samāsa are: asidu-naḍu -

asiyanadu, avudu-mātu-avamātu. It is for this reason that Kesiraja calls Gamaka Samāsa as the variety of Karmadhāraya.

2. In the examples avakāryam, piḍivakahale, etc., there is one Kannada word and one Sanskrit word. This is not possible for Sanskrit. Hence, it cannot be Karmadhāraya. Such instances will usually lead to the fault called arisamāsa. But, they are there in Kannada. Such instances are accommodated in the Gamaka Samāsa, and there is no arisamāsa fault in it.

3. In the examples pasiyabannam, asiyanadu etc. the words pasiya, asiya etc. appear to be the mutated forms of pasidu, asidu etc. but they are used as they are. Similarly, in the examples like irpattaidu, mūvattaru, nūrupattu etc. the forms irpattu, mūvattu, nūru etc. are very clear. Again, in āduvapolam, pāduvatumbi etc. the words āduva, pāduva though mutation forms of āduvudu, pāduvudu etc. are the forms of daily usage. And ā, ī etc. which are mutation forms adu, idu, etc. are also in daily usage. In āvanāyakam, āvakānte the term āva is clear by itself. As there is an element of explicit clarity in all these examples it is termed as Gamaka samāsa. Because, the meaning of Gamaka is 'making clear or intelligible.'<sup>35</sup>

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35. Kittel's Dictionary. p.

4. The examples piriyaṁagam, paṣiyaḁannaṁ, (for Gaṁaka) are permaṁagam, paṣuvaṁṁṁṁ (for karmadhāraya). These terms are not found in current usage. The examples pāḁuvatuṁbi, āḁiḁapolam (Gaṁaka) are pāḁuḁuḁuṁbi, āḁuṁbolam (for Karmadhāraya). Hence, the difference of terminology.

5. Now, about the difference between tatpuruṣa, karmadhāraya, dvigu and gaṁaka. There is no arisaṁasa fault in gaṁaka; where as such a fault is found in these saṁāsaṣ. The examples irtale, muḁkḁḁḁ, nālveraḁ are dvigu saṁāsa, and mūḁḁḁḁ, nālḁḁḁḁḁ, irḁalam etc. are Gaṁaka. In the first, there are only Kannada words; in the second both. The examples kuḁḁḁḁ, niḁuṁḁḁḁ, paḁḁalir are karmadhāraya: whereas kiḁiyaṁagam niḁiyaṁālage, paṣiyaḁannaṁ are Gaṁaka. āḁuṁbolam, tūḁuḁḁḁḁḁḁ, pāḁuḁuḁuṁbi are karmadhāraya, but āḁiḁapolam, tūḁuḁvatuḁḁḁḁḁ, pāḁuḁvatuṁbi are Gaṁaka.

Some scholars<sup>36</sup> think that Gaṁaka saṁāsa is not necessary, as it can be accommodated in one of the existing saṁāsaṣ. Some others<sup>37</sup> do not agree with that view, as the existing varieties of Sanskrit saṁāsa do not accommodate some of the peculiar expressions of Kannada a new variety was necessary. And that is what Kesiraja has done by giving a name of Gaṁaka saṁāsa to such varieties.

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36. V.Krishnaswami Ayyangar, Kannada Nudi 28.4.

37. T.Gopalakrishna Bhat, Kannada Nudi 29.8

According to Kesiraja the case suffixes at the end of the first words are dropped in samāsa. But in the examples pāduvatumbi, ādiḍapolam, āvanāyakam, āvakānte etc. no such dropping of the case suffixes is found. Moreover, these examples are pronounced as if they are two words. And the other varieties which are outside these criteria, will be accommodated in one of the existing varieties of Sanskrit which are already imposed upon the Kannada structure. Hence, it appears Gamaka samāsa need not be taken as a separate entity. The fact that Gamaka samāsa was not found in Nagavarma, and it was Kesiraja who invented etc. neither prove nor disprove the case.

The treatment of the samasas so far reveals an important feature of them viz., there can be only two broad divisions in the samāsas.

- 1) Bahuvrīhi
- 2) Tatpuruṣa

In the case of Bahuvrīhi the two components under consideration, lead to a third meaning.

2) If it is following the meaning of the later constituent, it is tatpuruṣa e.g. mallige nane, māṇik gempu etc. The definition of Karmadhāraya according to Kesiraja is 'If mutually dependent, the tatpuruṣa becomes Karmadhāraya. That means, Karmadhāraya is the variety of tatpuruṣa. And about other varieties, there is not much. They can be easily included in the above. If the first component is numeral, it is dvigu, if both the components are equal, it is <sup>dvandva</sup>dvigu. If the first component is predominant, it is avyayibhava; And if the second member is a verbal form, it is verbal compound. Hence, it is a question of only a predominance of one component over the other etc. that is responsible for so many varieties. Otherwise, essentially, they belong to the same broad generic term.

Hence, there are only two varieties of samāsas, one where the meaning of the samāsa is that of the meaning of one of the components; and the other, the meaning of the samāsa is different from either of the

components. This corresponds to the modern classification of constructions into is endocentric constructions and exocentric constructions. In the endocentric constructions, the centre is inside the resultant construction, that is, one of the constituents of the construction is having a centre. For example, blackbird. Here, the first component is an adjective, and the second one is the noun; and the resultant construction also is a noun. The exocentric constructions, the centre is outside the two components. For example, the construction pickpocket. Here, of the two terms pick is a verb, and pocket is a noun, but the resultant construction is an agent noun. It appears, the two systems, though not described so, are essentially the same.

### Derivative Forms

Kēsīrāja starts listing of the derivative suffixes straight-way without saying anything about their nature etc. 'In the sense of doer, seller, profession, untruth, knowledge, debt, action, architecture etc. the suffix-iga is used'.<sup>1</sup>

#### Examples:

- 1) Doer: Kabbigam, sālīgam, tōṇṭīgigam
- 2) Seller: Dūsigam, tāmbulīgam
- 3) Profession: Haḍapīgam, cāmarīgam
- 4) Knowledge: Jōyīsigam, lekkīgam
- 5) Untruth: Mālīgam, pusīgam
- 6) Debt: Sālīgam, Hanīgam
- 7) Architecture: Chippīgam
- 8) Mūla: Mūlīgam

For the -iga suffix so many meanings are given in the sūtra. -iga primarily denotes doer; in some cases the seller and profession. But about other meanings like knowledge, untruth, debt, architecture etc., it is doubtful whether the suffix -iga expresses them or it is inherant in the forms. In the words jōyīsigam, lekkīgam (knowledge) also -iga denotes profession only. In mālīgam, pusīgam (untruth), the meaning given is not denoted by the suffix, but the base itself. The suffix denotes the agent and masculine gender. Similarly, in

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1. S.D. sūtra - 208.

sāligam etc. (debt), and chippigam etc. (architecture) suffix expresses the agent and masculine gender. -iga is the predominant derivative suffix expressing the agent and masculine gender.

'In the sense of doing the work - vala, -valla and -āyta are used. In the sense of 'to put' the suffix - vadiga is used'.<sup>2</sup>

Examples:

- 1) -vala : adapavalam, maḍivalam
- 2) -valla: adipavallam, maḍivallam
- 3) -āyta: sūlaytar, kallāytar, dangāytar
- 4) -vadiga: kancavadigam, pullavadigam

The two suffixes also indicate masculine.

The two suffixes - vala and -valla are used in the same words. That means they are considered to be identical. Then the question is: which of the two forms is earlier? In the early works, the form -valla occurs.<sup>3</sup> It is only in the later works that - vala occurs. Hence, -valla may be considered as earlier form.<sup>4</sup> Some scholars consider -valla might have been derived from Sanskrit -

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2. S.D. sūtra - 209.
  3. padevallange .... nāḍeyalvel bēgam - shāntipurana - 3-107. See niyogarthada 'valla' (vala) pratyayayu - sa. pa. pa. 26-1.
  4. valla became - vala, and now it is - vāla e.g. maḍivāla etc. - ibid.

pāla.<sup>5</sup> But, the earliest of the three forms is - valla. The suffix - pāla becomes - pāla, and then -vala. Whatever the change, it must be after -vala. Hence, it is hard to accept.<sup>6</sup> It has to be investigated whether -valla is to be connected with -ul which is a Dravidian root.

The suffix -āyṭam is composed of āy- 'to collect' plus -t. Later on the collective form itself came to be used as a single suffix.- vadiga will be treated with -adiga etc.

'-kāra is used for one who operates: -gāra for one who does. After the words, kamma, kumba, the -ga in -gāra is dropped.'<sup>7</sup>

Examples:

-kara :                nadevalikaram, behukaram  
-gara :                malegaram, belegaram  
-dropping of -ga:    kammaram, kumbaram

In Sanskrit -kāra 'doer' is found. This -kara has given rise to -kāra and -gāra. About the dropping of -ga in kammaram and kumbaram. What remains after the dropping

5. S.B.Joshi - Sa.Pa. Pa. 26-1

6. "-vala > pala as a suffix showing possession or connecting is late, and not earlier than the Apabhramsa stage in the history of Indo-Aryan." - S.K.Chatterji - Proceedings of Oriental Conference, Baroda - 1933.

7. S.D. sūtra - 210.

of - ga is - āra. Is it not possible to establish -āra itself as a separate suffix ? (~~Is it from -ara to be able~~).

'If the suffix is -gāra, and the word before that suffix ends in -u, then the bindu comes, and that -u becomes -a. In the sense of 'he is born out of it' the suffix -ichā is found. Sometimes, penultimate long vowel becomes short'.<sup>8</sup>

Which is the penultimate vowel here ? Whether it is to be referred to the derivative word or basic word ? From the examples it can be seen that it is in the basic word.

Examples:

for bindu:	paḍungāram, jūḍungāram
u     a     :	kañchagāram
-icha:	polalicham, alaricham
short vowel:	kālūricham - kāluricham.

'In the sense of 'deeply engaged in' the suffixes - kuṭiga and -ga are found. In the sense of 'lives in it' - uliga is used'.

Examples:

-kuṭiga :	kalkuṭigam, marakuṭigam
-ga:	mātugam, bātugam, kantegam
-uliga:	dēvuligam, mannuligam

8. S.D. sūtra - 211.

9. S.D. sūtra - 212

The suffixes - kuṭiga and -ga are said to be used in the same sense. It appears that they are to be distinguished. From the examples, it appears that -kuṭiga is used in the sense of deeply engaged in some profession. But the same is not true with -ga. It is not applied to any profession. The form -kuṭiga can further be divided into kuṭ- (-kuṭṭu) plus +iga.

The form uliga might be traced to ul ( < ul < ūl - 'to cultivate) plus -iga.

'In the sense of 'one who takes' and 'that character' the suffix - guli is used, with bindu. In the sense of 'one who eas' the suffix -unl is used'.<sup>10</sup>

Though -guli is a suffixal form given it can be further divided into two parts: viz., -gul and -i. Here -i is a derivative suffix and -gul is from the root -kol - 'to take'. The phoneme k in kol has become -g between two vowels. The vowel o becoming u is a historical process. The process here is 'the close vowel mutation'.<sup>11</sup> In the environment of a close vowel i, the preceding open vowel also has become close one viz. u.

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10. S.D. sūtra - 213.

11. Proceeding of the oriental conference,  
Mysore (1935) p.

The form -uni is also, similarly, having two components, the root -un and the derivative suffix -i.

'In the sense of 'character' etc. the suffixes -uka, -kuli, -āli, -ika, -adiga etc. are used.'<sup>12</sup>

Examples:

-uka:	kattukam, antukam, sannukam
-kuli:	porkuli, irukuli
-āli:	ōdāli, jūdāli, mātāli
-ika:	karikam, husikam, rasikam
-adiga:	dēvadiga, puvadiga, pavadiga

-kuli which reveals 'the nature' is not much different from -guli. But how to connect it to kol- from the point of view of meaning ?

The form -āli appears to be from āl- 'man' and -i derivative suffix, indicating that a particular person having that nature deeply.

The form -adiga is to be divided into -adi +iga. This also may be traced to ādu +iga - ādiga - adiga. The form -vadiga mentioned in sutra 209, appears to be connected with adiga, but how it has become vadiga is difficult to explain.

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'In operating, living in etc. -uga suffix is used. -aṭiga suffix is used in the sense of doing, torch - bearer etc.'<sup>13</sup>

Examples:

-uga: narugam, bērugam, <sup>v</sup>narugam, ~~nan~~-gugam  
-aṭigam: kollatigam, māvatigam, divatigam

The suffix -aṭiga may be traced to two components -aṭ- plus -iga. This aṭ ( < āta) may be traced to āta ( < ādu).

The word kollatigam may be divided into kolla+aṭiga. According to the sutra, if -aṭiga is taken as suffix, kol- is to be taken as base form. It is from kol (bamboo-stick) which is a particular kind of gymnastics performed on a bamboo stick.

The torch -bearer is divatigam. It is explained by Kesiraja as 'divigevididāduvam'. So divige is the word according to him, to which suffix is added. But it may be said to be dīpa+aṭiga - dīpatigam - divatigam.

Similarly, māvatigam. Dr.Kittel gives this word in his Dictionary<sup>14</sup> as mā-v-aṭiga.

'-ka suffix is used in the sense of 'one who possesses the character of' and -ila is used in 'one who operates in that'.<sup>15</sup>

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13. S.D. sūtra - 215.

14. Kittel's Dictionary - p. 1244.

15. S.D. sūtra - 216.

Examples:

-ka:	baḍakam, niḍukam, kiḍukam
-ila:	paccayilam, paḍeyilam, gāvīlam

The suffix -ila is used in the sense of one who operates in. Hence, he who operates in the rubies, is paccayilam, one who operates in horses (ghōla > ghōḍa) is gholayila - 'horse trader'. But, the sense of operation found in paccayilam and gholayilam is different from that found in gāvīlam and paḍeyilam. Paḍeyila means one who is in the army. gāvīla ( < grāma+ila)<sup>16</sup> means one who is in the village. Hence, the meaning of -ila in these words may be 'one who lives in'.

'In the sense of 'there is the thing' the suffix -ulla, -odeya, -vanta are used. In the sense of 'whose occupation is eating' -vaniga is used'.<sup>17</sup>

Examples:

-ulla :	dhanamullam, guṇamullam
-odeya:	permeyodeyam, cagadodeyam
vanta:	sirivantam, jayavantam
-vaniga:	kulavanigam, gandhavanigam

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16. Kittel's Dictionary - p. 540.

17. S.D. sūtra - 217.

The three suffixes -ulla, -odeya, and -vanta have the sense of possession.

Is - vaniga (vana+iga) from un ?

'In measurement, numerals etc. suffix -aneyā and in counting, the suffix -me are used.'<sup>18</sup>

Examples:

-aneyā:            ondaneya, eradaneya

-me:               orme, irme

-aneyā gives the sense of the adjective.

'In feminine the suffix -iti with the dropping of the first vowel -i, is used after -a ending words. Sometimes, even in non-a ending words -i is dropped. -a ending words, sometimes, get -al. Optionally -a becomes -e.'<sup>19</sup>

Examples:

-iti:               madanigiti, kannadigiti, okkaligiti,  
                     akkasaliti

dropping of i:    manigārti, mālegārti, polati

-al:                aval, ival, piriya

-al in krits:      ṡsarisidal, rāgisidal

a > e:             sitage, chadure etc.

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18.    S.D. sūtra - 218.

19.    S.D. sūtra - 219.

The suffix -iti occurs in most of the words. It occurs with the first vowel i- dropped in some words. In most of the words given as examples for -iti it comes as a second suffix, already one derivative suffix being there. In only one instance it is found to be directly affixed to the base form i.e. okkaliti.

The suffix -iti is usually derived from Sanskrit *stri* via Prakrit *itthi*. But there are pure Dravidian words like *Keladi*, *maḍadi* etc. where -di or -adi is found. Hence this -iti may be traced to -adi or -di a pure Dravidian suffix.<sup>20</sup>

-al is a suffix denoting feminine gender.

'If the derivative suffix is there, the word final vowel, or syllable is dropped. In the derivative form, the nature of compound and verbal themes also are found.'<sup>21</sup>

Examples:

-dropping of the vowel: *Telungiti*, *dēsigiti*, *hādarigiti*.

-dropping of -ru, -du: *ērutam-ētam*, *ōdu-ōtam*.

compound nature: *mālegāra-mālegare-mālegārti*  
*kanṇagārti*, *baḷegārti*

20. P.G.Kulkarni - p. 300

21. S.D. sūtra - 220

verbal theme: āṭam, pāṭam, kūṭam.

'Sometimes i, u, e are mixed with -v, In some places, there is -ta along with a and e'.<sup>22</sup>

-v: toravi, alavi, baḷavi, pelavu, marave,  
elave.

non-a ending: ulivu, kalivu, tilivu.

-ta: aritam, kaḍitam

-te: agalte, pogalte, negalte

Instead of saying 'sometimes i, u, e are mixed with v', it can be said that the usual sandhi phenomenon takes place. Two other suffixes mentioned are -ta and te.

'In the sense of prosperity, -ike is found. In other places, -tana, -ume, -ame, -ge, -ke, me, -pi, -u are found.'<sup>23</sup>

Examples:

-ike: unnatike, pannatike (not in consonant  
ending words)

-tana: kalitana, eggatana, (not in Sanskrit words)

-ume: takkume

-ame: tīrame

-ge: uduge, polge

-ke: maḍike, kāṅke

22. S.D. sūtra - 221.

23. S.D. sūtra - 222.

-me:	olme, perme, janme
-pu:	kaḍupu, melpu, tanpu
-pi:	kalpi, nōmpi
-u:	uggu, kivuḍu

-ike and -ke are given as two suffixes. -ike occurs in vowel-ending words, and -ke occurs after consonant ending words. Hence, in maḍike which is given for -ke it can be said that -ike is there, or it even appears that there is only -ke suffix.

-u also is considered to be the derivative suffix in uggu, kivuḍu etc. Though -u is a derivative suffix elsewhere, here it may not be taken as a suffix. The original root form itself may be considered as a derivative form also.

'If the -pu giving abstract sense is the second member, the r in piridu becomes bindu, and the previous i becomes e. Thus, piridu becomes pempu. In the sense of character -ka suffix is used.'<sup>24</sup>

-ka:                      naḍuka, uduka.

piridu + pu = per + pu = peṁ + pu = pempu

'The root-vowel i in the sense of 'characteristic' becomes e; and the root-vowel u becomes o, and it is lengthened. In the final position it becomes -a also. Even the root itself can be its character.'<sup>25</sup>

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24. S.D. sūtra - 223.

25. S.D. sūtra - 224.

Examples:

i - e:	kidu - kēdu, isu-ēsu.
u o:	kudu-kōdu, tudu-tōdu,
length:	idu-īdu, bidu-bīdu, sudu-sūdu.
-a:	ātam, pātam, tītam, nōtam
root:	tade, nade, urku, sorku.

Length itself serves as the derivative suffix. So, the root idu becomes the noun īdu, bidu-bīdu etc.

By the addition of -a to the roots, some derivative forms are created. In the examples, ādu-ātam, nōdu-nōtam etc. in addition to the -a, there is one more feature seen, viz., unvoicing of the voiced consonant e.g. d- t (ādu-ātam etc.).

Sometimes root itself behaves like a noun. Hence, the derivative suffix, here, may be taken as zero.

About the forms which have i changed to e, and u changed to o, it can be said like this. In Kannada, historically two kinds of vowel-mutation are found. One, open-vowel mutation, where, in the environment of the open vowel (only derivative suffix beginning with -a) the root vowel also became open. For example, sudu-sod-araṇṇa śila-kela etc. Two, the close vowel mutation, where in the environment of the close vowel, the root vowel also becomes close one. This is found peculiarly in Kannada.

For example, Tamil eli -'a rāt'. Kannada ili. Tamil kori - 'sheep' Kannada kuri etc. The phenomenon of e > i, o > u was active in proto-old Kannada stage.<sup>26</sup> By middle Kannada stage (i.e. by the time of Kesiraja) such forms as kiḍu, kuḍu etc. were more prevalent. Hence, he had to say i becomes e and u becomes o.

'For comparison -vōl, -ante, -antevōl, -vol are used. In -a ending words, bindu comes and v becomes b'.<sup>27</sup>

Examples:

-vōl:	jalanidhivōl, kulagirivōl.
ante:	giriante, kaviante
antevōl:	baliyantevōl
-vol:	kaḍalvol
-v-b:	Indrambōl, cṇandrambōl

'-āyila is used irrespective of whether the word is Sanskrit or Kannada. The other derivative suffixes may be recognised.'<sup>28</sup>

Sanskrit: gadhāyilam, rekhāyilam

Kannada: ōjāyilam, addāyilam

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26. Proceedings of the Oriental Conference, Mysore p.

27. S.D. sūtra - 225.

28. S.D. sūtra - 226.

The suffixes are usually divided into two categories viz. i) Derivative suffixes and ii) Inflectional suffixes. Inflectional suffixes determine the function of the word. And derivational suffixes are responsible for forming the words.<sup>29</sup> If some suffix is added to the root, the resultant form may become noun, adjective etc. For example adu-ātam. kūdu-kūṭam. By the addition of the derivational suffix noun-form may become, adjective form. For example, ondu-onḍaneyā, eraḍu-eraḍaneyā. Adjectives will be nouns by the addition of these suffixes. For example, bisi-bisiḍu, posa-posatu.

Usually derivative suffixes are more in number<sup>30</sup>, compared to the inflectional suffixes. Many suffixes given above are the examples for this.

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29. R.H.Robins - p.

30. Eugene Nida - p.99

## INDECLINABLES

Kesiraja straightway starts with giving the nature of the indeclinables: 'Imitation words, and words ending in adu, ane etc. are called indeclinables. For the -n in ane there will be -g optionally.'<sup>1</sup>

### Examples:

Imitation words:	dhigilene, bhugilene, bhōrane etc.
-adu:	nūṅkadu, nūladu etc.
-ane:	kammane, immane etc.
n g:	nettane - nattage, summane-summage kammane-kammage

'Illa in the sentence is the verbal indeclinable. Kiluḍu, nirnir, nirneram - are the indeclinables.'<sup>2</sup>

'In the indeclinables like summane, summage, usika etc. indicating silence; and gurugummage, binnage, binnane indicate no action.'<sup>3</sup>

'The indeclinable anum is used in the sense of place, direction, time and numerals. And ānam, anam are used in the sense 'whatever'.<sup>4</sup>

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1. S.D. sutra - 315
2. S.D. sutra - 316
3. S.D. sutra - 317
4. S.D. sutra - 318

Examples:

Place:	elliyanum
Direction:	ettānum
Time:	endānum
Numeral:	ondānum, eradānum
ana:	kāryamānamilla
ana:	gunāmanamilla

'The indeclinables naḍe, eḍe, avagam, nere, niḍum, karam, adam, eyḍe, niḍu, mige, kennam, ellam - all these give the meaning of excess'.<sup>5</sup>

'Bhōnkane, chekkane, bhorane, bhonkane, cadupudane, girragirrane, beccara, kaḍuceccara - are used in the sense of quickness'.<sup>6</sup>

'The forms egam, valam, veram, dal indicate definiteness; the form mattina is used for 'different'; bere, bere gives the meaning of separateness'.<sup>7</sup>

'The forms anu, tittane, tirrane, battane give the sense of movement and the forms oykane, nettane give the sense of clarity'.<sup>8</sup>

'The form ahahā is used to express pain; akkatā is used for surprise and sorrow; ayyō is used to express in teasing or sorrow'.<sup>9</sup>

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5. S.D. sutra - 319
  6. S.D. sutra - 320
  7. S.D. sutra - 321
  8. S.D. sutra - 322
  9. S.D. sutra - 323

'The forms oh̄, and h̄ are used in the sense of stopping; odane gives the sense of together'. gahagaha expresses laughter; and sodambadam indicates big'.<sup>10</sup>

'oh̄ is used for surprise, āh for fun; uh̄ is used for expressing sorrow, pleasure, intolerableness etc'.<sup>11</sup>

'In the sense of remembrance, thought calling etc. elelē, and ē are used. In the sense of determination, oneness e is used'.<sup>12</sup>

'The form matte is used in the sense of 'after', attānum is used for 'everywhere'. arame are used in the sense of one belpala used for 'young'.<sup>13</sup>

'Sale is used for 'always', hum for interrogation and altalte for suspicion'.<sup>14</sup>

'om and um are additives. The forms e, ē, o, ō expresse doubt, question and objection'.<sup>15</sup>

'The forms summane, summage, baride, allavar are used for 'no reason'. For the word antarim the non-e form of the instrumental viz., im, indam, indem, inde occur'.<sup>16</sup>

'The forms balike, balikkam, balikam, balikkam, baliyam give the sense of 'after'. mēn is used to indicate 'alternative'.<sup>17</sup>

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| 10. | S.D. sutra - 324 |
| 11. | S.D. sutra - 325 |
| 12. | S.D. sutra -     |
| 13. | S.D. sutra - 327 |
| 14. | S.D. sutra - 328 |
| 15. | S.D. sutra - 329 |
| 16. | S.D. sutra - 330 |
| 17. | S.D. sutra - 331 |

'pavvane indicates accident and fear. antu, intu are for the completion of the pada. chih, issi are used for contempt'.<sup>18</sup>

'The forms antire, ante, antevōl, vōl are used in the sense of analogy; and gaḷa, gaḍa are for formal information and proper conversation'.<sup>19</sup>

'balle, bali are used for 'once more', andu, indu, undu, endu indicate time'.<sup>20</sup>

'The forms antu, intu, untu, entu are giving the meaning "this way" etc. The indeclinables to be mentioned next will indicate time and are with dative and genitive'.<sup>21</sup>

'Āgal, īgal, āgaḍu, īgaḍu indicate time. savalaḍe, poltaḍe, savaltaḍe indicate dawn'.<sup>22</sup> 'nāḍidu, nāle indicate future, and ninne, monne indicate past. īvari and moneyeḍu are used for near past and past respectively'.<sup>23</sup>

At the outset, it is obvious that Kesiraja's treatment of the indeclinables does not contain much, in the form of theory. It just contains a list of indeclinables, of course with meaning. In the following section some attempt at systematisation will be made.

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| 18. | S.D. sutra - 332 |
| 19. | S.D. sutra - 333 |
| 20. | S.D. sutra - 334 |
| 21. | S.D. sutra - 335 |
| 22. | S.D. sutra - 336 |
| 23. | S.D. sutra - 337 |

The definition of the noun given in the previous sections was: 'The form which takes, or is capable of taking, the case suffixes is noun'. According to this definition mara, giḍa etc. are of course, nouns. But, the forms like andu (andina, andininda etc.). mēgu (mēgina, etc.), mēle (mēlina etc.). are also nouns. Kesiraja himself has included the forms like andu etc.<sup>24</sup> in the section on nouns saying that these forms take all the seven case suffixes. The same forms viz., andu, indu, unḍu, are included in the indelinables also.<sup>25</sup> According to him the forms āgaḷ, īgaḷ, āgaḍu, īgaḍu, savalṭade, polṭade, nāḍidu, nāle, ninne, monne moneyēḍu which indicate time take dative and genitive case suffixes.<sup>26</sup> It can be added to his statement and said that these forms take all the case suffixes. Hence, all forms included in the list of avyayas by Kesiraja may have to be included among nouns. Some scholars<sup>27</sup> go to the extent of not recognising this class. The reason why Kesiraja has included these forms indicating time appears to be the fact that they have been included among avyayas in Sanskrit. It would have been appropriate if he had said that the some nouns like andu, indu etc. are used as adverbs also.

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24. S.D. sutra - 131

25. S.D. sutra - 334

26. S.D. sutra - 336 and 337

27. 'The Dravidian languages have no adverbs of all. Every word that is used as an adverb in the Dravidian languages is either a noun-declinable or indeclinable, or a verbal theme or an infinitive or gerund of a verb' - Caldwell - 553

Kesiraja has established the form illa as a separate entity calling them 'verbal indelinable'. This is a negative form of the root il. Then, there are other forms like an, in, mun, pin etc. occurring in the words aṅgay, aṅgāl, iṅcara, muṅgāl, muṅgay, piṅgāl, pimbede etc.<sup>28</sup> are also indelinables. These are indeclinable forms indicating place.

All the indeclinables may be classified into four broad classes.

1. Interjections (Bhāvasūcakāvyaya)
2. Adverbs (kriyāvisēṣanāvyaya)
3. conjunctions (samuccayakāvyaya)
4. post-positions (Anusargāvyaya)

1) Interjections: To express certain feeling, we use certain sounds. To express feelings like joy, sorrow, contempt and so on, we use separate words. Such forms are indeclinables.

Examples:

Calling: a, ā, e, ē, ela, elā, elay, elō, elau, elelē

Emphasis: e, ē.

Interrogation and doubt: a, e, ē, en, o, ō

Feelings: aḥ, akatā, akkatā, ayyō, ahahā, ahā, uḥ, ūḥ, ohō, hā, hohō, chih, issi, thu, che, etc.

Even particles (nipatas) expressing the above feelings are included in this class.

2. Adverbs: Verbal indeclinables indicate the manner, place, time or number of the action that took place. Among the indeclinables the adverbs, and the imitative words are in majority. To achieve such forms the adverbial suffixes ane, age etc. are added.

Examples:

Imitative: girrane-girrage, bhōnkane, bhōrane,  
summane-summage, nettage etc.

Adjectival: kammāne-kammage, nunnane-nunnage, mellāne-  
mellage etc.

The forms called by Kesiraja as analogical forms are also included, in this class. For example, antu, intu, entu etc. Similarly, ante, antevōl, vōl also are the examples.

3. Conjunctions: These are the linkage which are responsible for joining two words or two sentences. In the sutra 133 some conjunctions like am, um etc. are given. Kesiraja has also matte which gives the meaning of 'again', men used in the sense of 'optional', mattam also is one such conjunction.

4. Post-positions: Some indeclinables coming after the verbal themes and nouns give some different meaning.

Such forms are called post-positions. The forms like anegan, inegam, annegam, annam, inam, alodam, e with bindu (in sati saptami), veram, varegam, mutte odam, odane etc. are the examples for post-positions. The reason why they are called post-positions is that they are not suffixes, but independent words. Kesiraja includes ante, entire, antevol etc. among the independent words. But does not do so with regard with the forms like annam, inam etc. The reason for such a treatment is not clear.

Finally, the term indeclinable which is improperly equated the adverbs is not understood clearly. The nouns etc. taking the case suffixes etc. undergo changes due to elision, insertion or mutation etc. Hence, they are changing (vikāri) forms. Some forms do not undergo any change (avikāri). Such forms are called indeclinables, and among many classes of indeclinables, adverbs is one.

## VERBAL THEMES

Kēsīrāja's treatment of the verbal theme is given in the following sūtras:

'Base indicating action, and without any case suffix is called a (verbal) root. What remains after the negative suffix is taken out, is a root. Suffixes are of six kinds'.<sup>1</sup>

The definition of the verbal root is given in this sūtra. The base form which expresses action and has no suffixes is called a root. After sūtra 265 Kēsīrāja says 'kriyārthōdhātuh'. Of all the grammarians, Kēsīrāja has defined the term dhātu satisfactorily. According to this sūtra the expressions like mādisu, kūdisu etc. are excluded from being dhātu. According to the definition of Kēsīrāja pratyaya and vibhakti are same; hence all the suffixes are removed from the form to get the root. He has given the procedures to detect this root. A negative form is to be taken; from that form, the negative suffix is to be taken out. Then there is one more thing which is not stated in the sūtra. That is, after taking out the negative suffix, still there is personal suffix. That also has to be removed. Then what remains is a root.

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1. S.D. sūtra - 227.

For example, take the form māḍidam. The negative form will be māḍam. From this, if the 3rd person singular suffix -aṁ is removed, the form māḍu (māḍu-aṁ) - māḍaṁ is a root. Similarly kūḍu, nōḍu, kāḍu, etc. are roots.

Only defect in this sūtra is: according to the procedure of Kēsirāja after the removal of the personal termination -aṁ in māḍaṁ, what remains is māḍ. But he says what remains is māḍu. Instead of stating the morphophonemic rules, he has taken them for granted.

The six suffixes mentioned in the previous sūtra, are given in the next sūtra: '-aṁ, -ar, -ay, -ir, -en, -evu, are the suffixes of singular and plural number, and of three persons respectively'.<sup>2</sup>

Kēsirāja gives the list of Kannada roots after the following two sūtras: 'As Sanskrit roots were treated by Bhima, in the same way Kannada roots were treated by Kēsīva'.<sup>3</sup>

'The Kannada roots are not with aspirated sound and the phonemes ṁ, ṇ, ṣ, ṣ, h, kṣa in the final position'.<sup>4</sup>

The six suffixes which regularly come in the verbal themes can be listed in the following manner:

- 2. S.D. sūtra - 228  
3. S.D. sūtra - 264  
4. S.D. sūtra - 265

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
IIIrd person	-am	-ar
IIInd person	-ay	-ir
Ist person	-en	-evu

For example:

IIIrd person	mādidam	mādidar
IIInd person	mādiday	mādidir
Ist person	mādiden	mādidevu

'Verbal suffixes are found in adjectives, pronouns, numerals and Sanskrit adjectives'.<sup>5</sup>

For example:

<u>Adjective:</u>	ollidam, ollidar etc
<u>pronoun:</u>	peram, perar, etc
<u>Numeral:</u>	orvam, orvar etc.

Sanskrit adjective: uddhatam, uddhatar etc.

non-adjectives: e.g. kavikēśavanem, dauhitranem.

Mallikārjunasutanem etc.

In the next sūtra, he talks of different number suffixes: 'The suffix -ar which comes as a substitute for -gal in masculine and feminine, is found optionally for -ir, -nv of second person, and -evu of first person. In Sanskrit adjectives, it is compulsory. There will be n before -en of the first person singular, and for -vu in -evu there is a bindu according to some people'.<sup>6</sup>

5. S.D. sūtra - 230

6. S.D. sūtra - 231

Examples:

optional -ar: kūrīdir -kūrīdarir, nērīdir - nērīdarir.

piriyevu - piriyarevu. orvir -orvarir.

-ar compulsory in Skt, adjectives: kulavriḍḍhar

n: piriyanen, asiyanen.

optional bindu in -ev, -uv: nōḍuvenu - nōḍuvem, pāḍuvenu -  
pāḍuvem.

So, here also Kesiraja considers -gal as the basic form, and others as the substituted forms. Though worthy of a formal grammarian, it is hard to accept.

In the following sūtra, he gives the tense suffixes: 'The augments -da, -dapa and -va indicate the three tenses viz., past, present and future. Before -da and -dapa irrespective of number, there will be -i after -u ending words. For -va of future there is no i.'<sup>7</sup>

Examples:

-da: paḍeḍam, geḍam, iḍiḍam

-dapa: ettiḍapam, ottiḍapam

-va: kuḍuvam, uḍuvam

Insertion of -i: tūgiḍam, bāgiḍam

No insertion of i: biḡivam, naḍevam.

'All the verbs indicating past, present and future will be past tense forms while indicating negation.'<sup>8</sup>

For example, the negative form māḍam indicates māḍiḍam, māḍiḍapam, māḍuvam.

7. S.D. sūtra - 232

8. S.D. sūtra - 233

'There will be p for v in the roots ending in r, r, l, n, g, s, ō and in some other instances there is doubling. In -g and -s ending roots it is dropped. In -n and -n ending roots v becomes b'.<sup>9</sup>

The roots ending in r, r, l, n, g and s, the future tense marker v becomes p. Sometimes it is doubled. And it is dropped after -g and -s ending roots.

Examples:

- r: kūrpaṃ, tarpaṃ, barpaṃ
- r: ārpaṃ, tōrpaṃ
- l: aḡarpaṃ, kilpaṃ
- n: ānpaṃ, nōṃpaṃ
- g: pōpaṃ, tāpaṃ, tūpaṃ
- s: taripaṃ, baripaṃ, besapaṃ
- ō: ōpaṃ.

Doubling: tolappaṃ, udayippaṃ, belappaṃ

bafter n: enbaṃ, nambaṃ

bafter n: unbaṃ, kānbaṃ, mānbaṃ

'The -p in -dapa is optionally doubled. After the root nō-, if there is -da or -dapa there will be -n, and the length in nō will be short. Due to linkage, in the root bē also the same changes are found'.<sup>10</sup>

Examples:

optional doubling: baredapam - baredappam

karedapam - karedappam

nō: nondam, nondapam

bē: bendam, bendapam

'For the past action, there will be -i and -u.  
For the present one, there will be -ūtum, -uttum, -ute,  
-utte.'<sup>11</sup>

Examples:

past tense -i: nacci bandam, mecci pogaldam

past tense -u: kusidu nadedam, nenedu pēldam

present tense -utu: nagutum, pugutum

present tense -uttu: kuduttum, jادیuttum

present tense -utte: kettutte, parasutte

present tense -ute: mirugute, enute

The forms -utu -uttu and -ut -utte are not having any definite environment of their own. Hence, they are in free-variation.

'After mī, tar, bar, kol, sal, if there is -da and -dapa, there will be n for mī, r and l. In nil it is optional'.<sup>12</sup>

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11. S.D. sūtra - 247

12. S.D. sūtra - 248

When past tense indicater -da and present tense indicator -dapa are there, the previous mī, r in tar and bar, l in kol and sal are changed to n. For nil it is optional.

Examples:

n: mindam, tandam, bandam, kondam, sandam

optional in nil: nindam - niltam

'For final -i and -u of the roots before -da and -dapa, there will be -e and -o. In negative meaning the vowel in tar and bar is lengthened.'<sup>13</sup>

i and u when followed by -da and -dapa are changed to e and o. And the vowel in tar and bar is lengthened in negation.

i - e: kidu - kettam, isu-eccam, tiru-tettam

u - o: ugu-okkam, pugu-pokkam, kudu-kottam

There is no such change in some: idu-ittam, iru-irdam, ī-ittam; udu-uttam, sudu-suttam.

Vowel length: tāram, bāram.

In no-negation also, vowel is sometimes lengthened e.g. bāra marālikāgamane.

'The root-final third varnas (of varga) before -da and -dapa become the first varnas (of the varga). For root-final -su, there is c'.<sup>14</sup>

13. S.D. sūtra - 249

14. S.D. sūtra - 250

Examples:

g - k : ugu-okkam, pugu-pokkam, nagu-nakkam  
d - t : naḍu-nattam, kiḍu-kettam, kuḍu-kottam  
d - t : muḍu-muttam  
su - c : pasu-paccam, bisu-beccam isu-eccam

Similarly for -ḍapa also

'For root-final r, for the roots  $\bar{s}\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{i}$ , there will be t before -da. The length in  $\bar{s}\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{i}$  is shortened'.<sup>15</sup>

Examples:

r: kir-kettam, per-pettam, ger-gettam  
r > r: aru -artam (arutam also)  
 $\bar{s}\bar{a}$ : sattam  
 $\bar{i}$ : ittam

There are some other examples like  $\bar{s}\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{i}$ . e.g.  
kan-kandam, mi-mindam, el-eldam, bil-bildam.

'-da coming after k, c, t, p assumes that form.  
If there are other varnas, -da becomes -ḍa or ta or ṭa'.<sup>16</sup>

-da is assimilated to the root final k, c, t, p.

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15. S.D. sūtra - 251

16. S.D. sūtra - 252.

Examples:

- k: ugu-dam - okkam, migu-dam - mikkam
- c: isu-eccam, bisu-beccam, pasu-paccam
- t: todū-tottam, kodu-kottam, bidu-bittam
- t: peru-pettam, teru-tettan, poru-pottam
- d: un-dam - undam, kandaṁ, kondam
- d -t: pōl-pōltam, sōl-sōltam, nil-niltam

Due to the use of 'mēn' it is not found in some cases e.g. pūṇdam, māṇdam, nēḷdam, bīḷdam etc.

Kēśirāja says, if after words ending in k, c, t, t, p' etc.: but the words here actually end in the voiced sounds, as in migu, ugu, todū, etc. So he would have said that words ending in k, c, t, t, p. But, it would have been more faulty. The real situation is, in these examples the past tense suffix is not -da. Because, when two voiced sounds (g (in migu) - d (in dapa) come together, they cannot result in voiceless sounds. At least one of the sounds has to be voiceless, for such an assimilation. Hence, -t- has to be taken as the past tense suffix, as the roots end in voiced sounds. About the past tense suffixes, more will be said after the summary is complete.

'The g in pōgu, āgu is dropped if -da or -dapa comes. In past tense, y comes, and for the neuter -udu, there will be -tu and -ga is dropped'.<sup>17</sup>

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17. S.D. sūtra - 253.

Examples:

dropping of g: pōgu-da-am - pōdam

āgu-da-am - ādam

insertion of y: āgu-tu - āytu

pōgu-tu - pōytu

'l of kol before -da becomes n. The u of the root ul becomes ol, and -da is forbidden. The neuter plural -uvu becomes -avu.<sup>18</sup>

Examples:

kol: kol-dam - kon-dam,

ul: olam, olar

Neuter (ul): olavu

The negative of untu is il

'irrespective of tense, number and gender there will be -gum and -kum in third person singular'<sup>19</sup>.

The suffix -gum or -kum is applied irrespective of any tense, number and gender.

Examples:

past tense: andu māḍugum, andu māḷkum

Three gender: talōdari bisusuygum. Bhūvalayādhipam nudigum

Present and future: emagīgale sūcisugum

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18. S.D. sūtra - 256

19. S.D. sūtra - 238

Number: orvane gelgum, irvarum nudigum

-kum: kamarivōkum, nungirkum, barkum.

Also sūcisugum-sūcikum, mādugum-mālkum.

'If -kum comes after -isu, sometimes i is dropped from -isu. Some people double that k in -kum. It has not to be used when pleasing to the ear'.<sup>20</sup>

Examples:

Elision of -su: mānisu-kum - mānikum

bhāvisu-kum - bhāvikum

Doubling: purudikkum, rañjikkum, pālikkum

Harsh to ears: ondikkum, bidikkum, kedikkum

'In imperative, for third person singular and plural, there will be -ge or -ke. That -ke is sometimes doubled. For second and first person plural, in simultaneous statement, there will be -im and -am respectively'.<sup>21</sup>

Examples:

-ge: avam kuduge, avam paḍeḡe

-ke: avam tarke, avar barke

plural: avar māḷke, avar tōrke

optional doubling for -ke: raksike - raksikke

pūjike - pūjikke

-im: irisim, tarisim

-am: tāguvam, ēgayvam

29. S.D. sūtra - 239

21. S.D. sūtra - 240

'The second person singular with the root is imperative form also. For the root ir, there will be -u. Imperative is found with repeated action.'<sup>22</sup>

The nature of the imperative is given in the sūtra. The second person singular form is imperative form also.

For example, nōḍu, pāḍu, kēḷ, iru, biḍubiḍu, kolkol, nadenade.

'For the Kannada root in purpose, self doing, or others doing, there will be -isu. For the Sanskrit polysyllabic roots in self-doing -isu- is used. In the sense of utility also there will be -isu'.<sup>23</sup>

Examples:

Purpose: mātīm nagisidam, pajjeyim kāṇisidam

Self-doing: nattisidam, kattisidam, bettisidam

other-doing: nūḍiyisidam, mūḍiyisidam

Monosyllabic root: īyisidam, tēyisidam

Sanskrit root (self doing): khandisidam

There is no -isu for Sanskrit roots in others doing.

utility: -akt: -citrisidam mudrisidam.

kan: pongisidam, soppisidam

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22. S.D. sūtra - 241

23. S.D. sūtra - 242

'In second person negative and imperative there will be -al. In the sense of utility, object and causative also, there is -al. When the action is indicating the meaning, there is also -al'.<sup>24</sup>

Sūtra is about the use of -al suffix.

Examples:

Imperative: usir-al-im - usiralim, s̄aralim etc.

Nonimperative negative: bageyal, pugal

Utility: iriyal, iyal, tariyal

Action: gelal, pugal, muttal

'If there is no negative, there will be -ke after -al. Sometimes, that -al is dropped'.<sup>25</sup>

Examples:

-ke: nūḍiyalke, pēlalke, bēḍalke

Dropping of -al: uḍalvēl-uḍavēl, toḍalvēl - toḍavēl

'If the imperative -ke and -kum are there after pōgu, the last syllable of pōgu is dropped. The final syllable of āgu is also dropped, and the previous vowel is shortened'.<sup>26</sup>

Examples: pōke —pōkum, akke-akkum.

'l of ul becomes n. The second member viz. the neuter -udu becomes -tu. In negation, for neuter -udu and -uvu, there will be -adu and -avu'.<sup>27</sup>

- 24. S.D. sūtra - 24  
25. S.D. sūtra - 246  
26. S.D. sūtra - 254  
27. S.D. sūtra - 255

Examples:

ul-du-untu

negation: uli-adu - uliyadu, miliyadu, palasadu

-avu: sallavu, nillavu, gellavu

After the treatment of tense suffixes, Keśirāja treats of person in the following sūtras: 'First, second and third persons have independent meaning. When three together, first person predominates. When second and third person are together, second person predominates. In simultaneous statement third person is never important'.<sup>28</sup>

Examples:

For independent meanings: ātanirdam, avarirdar; nim kaday,  
nim kandir, ān kēldem, am kēldevu.

Difference: nīnumātanumānum pōpevu  
ātanumānum nīnum pēldevu  
ānum nīnumātanum besakeyvevu

predominance of second person: ātanum nīnum kūdiḥir.  
nīnumātanum kūdidapir.

'tān, nīn, ān forms are third, second and first persons respectively. Singular is referring to one, and plural to many'.<sup>29</sup>

Here, Keśirāja gives the third, second and first person forms and also defines the terms singular and plural.

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28. S.D. sūtra - 234

29. S.D. sūtra - 235

Examples:

Third person: tāneccam (sg); tāv todardiriyar

Second person: nim munciday

First person: anarivem

'For the third person neuter singular and plural there will be -udu and -uvu respectively. -udu is used in the abstract sense also'.<sup>30</sup>

The suffixes of neuter gender are treated here.

Examples:

Singular: bare-da-udu - baredudu: neredudu etc.

Plural: nimir-da-uvu - nimirduvu: amarduvu etc.

Abstract sense: ivadu sahajam, kūrpuḍu etc.

Even in imperative: raksippudennam

'For neuter singular there are -itu, -ittu, and -attu forms. For third person singular in feminine, there will be -al'.<sup>31</sup>

-attu: irdottu, paṣsarisiḍattu

-al: tadedal, padedal

'In satisaptami which is responsible for two subjects, there is e. For that e some people use -al. The correct form is aloḍam'.<sup>32</sup>

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30. S.D. sūtra - 236

31. S.D. sūtra - 237

32. S.D. sūtra - 260

'Satisaptami is responsible for two subjects.

Examples:

gāyakam pāde dēvam meccidam.

pātravāde vādakam bājisidam

-al: pādapaḍmangalanandottuttiral sūdraka  
nripatisukhāsīnanāḥ  
gīṇanāgal

alodam: vasantam baralodam kōgileyuligum

'If there is a in the final position of the word,  
indicating the different party, that word comes after the  
root irrespective of three genders, three numbers and three  
persons',<sup>33</sup>

Examples:

Feminine: nōlpode aval

Masculine: nudivode avam

Neuter: tīduvode kammelar tīdugum

Singular: kāduvode orvane ballidam

Dvivacana: polisuvodirvarum takkar

Plural: nudivodellarum mātariyar

Three numbers: porduvode avan ollidam

tīrduvode avar ollidar

belpode nīnolliday\*, ivode nīvollandir etc.

Past: pusidode bittam

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Present: palāncidapode kondapam

Future: citripode tūlikeyam tarisuvam.

'Inegam, udum, annam, annegam, inam, alodam these are always with bindu. These comes as mutation(adesha) forms for e of setisaptami, and before e the form alodam also comes'.<sup>34</sup>

Examples:

-inegam: kāmākaram karamadangi nurgappinegam kāmādanadangevoydam

-udum: baravēlembudum ... barpambujōdaram

-annam: uddade negevannam poyyalendavvalipudu

-annegam: ōleyodane muttungālōl nare barpennegamiru

-inam: puguvinam

-alodam: kurukulādhīpam nuḍiyalodam

-e: nelanēdire nōṭakar kannalase manam korage

e and alodam āgama: baralodane kottam

'The forms annegam, annam, inegam, inam are common for present and future. -udum and alodam are used in past tense'.<sup>35</sup>

Examples:

Present: nenevanegam bandam

Future: īvan<sup>n</sup>negamirdam, belagappinam kēlisidam

Past: pāvase kidalodam nīr tilidudu

All these are the examples of satisptami.

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34. S.D. sūtra - 257

35. S.D. sūtra - 258

'If the words varam, varegam are the second members, then annegam, innegam ennegam drop their -ga. Elsewhere though varam and varegam are there, there is no elision. The word mutte also gives the sense of boundary'.

The words varam, varegam indicate the boundary.

Examples:

Elision of -ga: ennegam-varam-ennevaram

innegam-varam - innevaram

mutte: desemutte, vārdhi mutte etc.

In the next sūtra, Kēsirāja gives the nature of the transitive verb. 'If where, what are the questions demanded, it is transitive. To all the roots padu with -al is affixed'.<sup>36</sup>

The verb together with the subject, if expects the question where and what, it is called transitive. There, for all the roots, padu-al is affixed. And previously stated person suffixes like -am, -ar etc. will be there of course. For example, tāniralpattam, tāmiralpattar; nīniralpattay, nīmīralpattir, āniralpattē, āmīralpattēvu etc.

In the next sūtra, Kēsirāja takes up a stray example: 'The root bele is used for plants, and bale in other cases. The abstract noun of bele is bele and that of bale is balavi'.<sup>37</sup>

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36. S.D. sūtra -263

37. S.D. sūtra -229

It needs no explanation and example.

In the next sūtra, Kēsīrāja makes some general statement about the meaning. 'The roots can convey many meanings. They should be understood in accordance with the usages of the great.'<sup>38</sup>

According to Kēsīrāja there are three tenses viz., past, present and future and the suffixes indicating those tenses are -da-, -dapa-, and -va- respectively. Then, he says that in some cases of past tense i is inserted before -da e.g. tūgu -i- da-am-tūgidam, bāgidam etc. It can be put in another way also. That is, in the examples quoted above the past tense suffix is -ida. In another place (sūtra 250) he says that before -da, -dapa, root-final g,d,d, are changed to k,t,t, which is hard to explain.

The suffixes which represent past, present and future are not -da-, -dapa, and -va but -d-, -dap- and -v-. The -a in all these examples does not seem to be necessary. In the examples bare-daṭam etc. it appears that -da- is the form. But this can be easily shown that it is due to the morphophonemic process of elision of one of the vowels. Hence, the form of these suffixes may be established as -d-, -dap, and -v-.

Again, the present tense indicator -dap does not appear to be a separate suffix like -d-, and -v-. It appears to be the combination of both past tense and future tense suffixes. Dr.Caldwell in search of the origin of this suffix -dap- accepts<sup>37</sup> the explanation given by Rev.Kittel. Dr.Kittel regards dap as being properly dapa, and dapa as consisting of da-apa. This apa he considers identical with aha, the future participle of ahu. The present tense suffix which is the combination of the past and future tense suffixes, lends credence to the theory that in Kannada there are only two tenses past and non-past (which includes present and future). Though there may be separate suffixes for present and future, really there is no distinction between them on the level of usage.

About the past tense -d-. In the light of the different explanations given by Kesiraja viz., insertion of the vowel i in some cases, and voiced phoneme changing to voiceless one in some environments, it is better to establish three forms in the past tense suffix. Otherwise, it will be difficult to explain certain forms according to the rules given by Kēsīrāja. The three forms are -d-, -id-, and -t-.

The form -d- occurs in the examples like padedam, geldam, ididam etc., the form -id- is found in the examples like tūgidam, bāgidam etc. And -t- occurs in pokkam, nattam, kettam, muttam etc. It appears all the

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39. Caldwell p. 491.

985 roots given by Kēsirāja may be conveniently grouped into these three classes. He has just listed the roots. He has not any classification, which may be attempted here.

For the sake of such a classification the past tense suffixes are taken as the bases. As there are three suffixes viz., -d-, -id- and -t- the classes may be called -d- class, -id- class and -t- class.

- 1) -d- class: paḍe, geḷ, iḍi, ī, ō, nō, bē etc.
- 2) -d- class: tūgu, bāgu, taḷku, tinuku etc.
- 3) -t- class: naḍu, kiḍu, kuḍu, ugu, pogu, mudu etc.

The usual structure of the Kannada verb is Root and Tense suffix plus personal ending. The above classes may be explained in the following manner.

- 1) paḍe-d-am - paḍedam  
geḷ-d-ay - geḷday  
bē-d-en - benden
- 2) tūgu-id-ar - tūgidar  
bāgu-id-ir - bāgidir  
taḷku-id-evu - taḷkidevu
- 3) naḍu-t-am - naḍ-t-am - naḍ-t-am - nat-t-am  
- nattam (due to assimilation)  
kiḍu-t-am - keḍu (sūtra 249) -t-am - kettam  
kuḍu-t-am - kottam

In the light of the above treatment, the sūtra - 250 appears to faulty. The sutra states that the root-final

third varnas of the varga before -da-, and dapa become the first varnas. Two voiced sounds coming together, and both assimilating to the voiceless sounds is something impossible.

About they inserted i in past tense, there is a considerable discussion Dr.Caldwell says that it is a suffix indicating past tense. It cannot explained due to enphonic combination.<sup>40</sup> R.Narasimhachar also supports the view of Dr.Caldwell. He says<sup>41</sup>: 'Another temporal particle used for forming the past tense in all three languages is i which is followed by -d in Kannada'.

But, is the view of both Caldwell and R.Narasimhachar does not appear to be logical. Because, i independently does not occur in any verbs.

The future tense suffix is -v- according to Kesiraja. And this assumes the form of b, p, pp.<sup>42</sup>

For example,

-v-: kēlvem, pēlvam etc.

-b-: enbam, tinbam, kānbam etc.

-p-: barpam, tarpam, kūrpaṃ

-pp-: tolappam, belappam etc.

According to A.N.Narasimhayya<sup>43</sup> the earliest future tense suffix is -pp-. And from this -p- and -v- developed later on. According to Caldwell -v- is the original form.<sup>44</sup>

40. Caldwell - p.499

41. History of Kannada Language - p.95

42. S.D. sutra - 243

43. A.N.Narasimhayya - p.205

44. Caldwell - p.514

Then there is a suffix -gum and -kum. The peculiarity about this suffix is that it stands for all the three tenses, gender, number and person.

For example, and<sub>m</sub>mādugum (past),

nāle mādugum (future)

indu mādugum (present)

talōdari bisusūḡgum (feminine)

bhūvalayādhīpam nudigum (masculine)

irvarum nudigum (plural)

That is, in -kum and -gum there is a neutralisation of tense, person, gender and number distinctions.

Then, there is a suffix -ke (-kke) and -ge. This comes in imperative, in place of ~~as~~ the third person terminations e.g.

avam kuduge, avam paḍege (-ge- singular)

avam tarke, avam barke (-ke- singular)

avar mālke, avar tōrke (-ke-plural)

avar pūjike - pūjikke (-kkeke optional)

The forms -ke, -kke and -ge may be treated as the variants of one form. It appears that -ke occurs after the roots ending in r, l; and -ge elsewhere. -kke is in free-variation with -ke. Hence, all the three forms may be considered the submembers of one morpheme.

2. Then there is a treatment of personal terminations. They are, in all, six, differing due to gender and person. They are:

	Singular	Plural
First person	en	evu
Second person	ay	ir
Third person	am	ar
	al (feminine)	
	udu (neuter)	uvu (neuter)

Kesirāja also states that for the third person singular -am and the forms -itu, -ittu and -attu are the optional substitutes in neuter. For example, mettitu, mettittu, ōdittu, allādittu, irdattu. A point which Kesirāja did not state regarding these forms was that they are used only in past tense.

Third point Kēsirāja has dealt with is 'sati saptami'. He has dealt with the idea of satisaptami in five sutras. Satisaptami is mainly the concept in Sanskrit grammars. Hence, before treating of satisaptami in Kannada, one should have a clear idea about satisaptami in Sanskrit. 'An action which indicates another action is called satisaptami'.<sup>45</sup> The examples of satisaptami are: 'gōsu duhyamānāsu rāmō gataḥ'. 'tasmin gatē kim vrittam'. 'asatsu tisthatsu santaḥ taranti' etc. Here, the verbal forms duhyamānāsu, gatē, tisthatsu are in the adjective slot. And assuming the form of locative, give the same form to the nouns also which are their substantives. In these examples, one action is subordinate to another. Here,

45. 'yasya-kriyayā kriyāntaram lakṣyate tataḥ saptami syati'- siddhanta Kaumudī.

'gatah, vrittam and taranti' are the main actions, and others are subordinate. The subordinate verbs do not give a complete meaning.

But in Kannada idea of Satisptami is different. There are two subjects. One verb is subordinate to the other. And unlike Sanskrit, subjects are not in locative. Instead, it is the verb which gives the locative sense. In Sanskrit, the verbal forms in subordinate action are karaka krit forms (e.g. duhyamanasu etc.), where as in Kannada they are indeclinable verbal forms (e.g. pade). The examples of sati saptami in Kannada is 'gāyakam pāde dēvam meccidam'. Here, gāyakam and dēvam are two subjects; pāde is the subordinate verb. And this verb pāde' indicates another verb like 'meccidam'. The meaning of 'pāde' is 'pādal'. But, Kēsirāja has prohibited the use of -al here. The term Ipāde' gives the sense of the locative, and the suffix that gives this sense is -e. Some people do not agree to -e being saptami. When it gives the sense of -al, how can it be locative? Hence, it is not a locative suffix, as a result, there is no satisptami in Kannada.<sup>46</sup>

Kēsirāja prohibiting the use of -al in this environment, specifies the use of aloḍam e.g. vasantam baraloḍam kogileyuligum'. This form -e is used irrespective of three genders, three numbers and three persons.

Examples:

nōlpode aval (fem.)

nudivode avam (masc.)

tīduvode kammelar (neut)

kāduvode orvane ballidam (sg.)

Nudivode ellarum (pl.) etc.

Then Kēsirāja gives other forms to be used in that situation via, inegam, udum, annam, annegam, inam, alodam. They come always with a bindu. All the above forms come as mutation forms for e. of these, anegam, annegam, annam, innegam and inam are used both for the present tense and the future tense; and the forms -udum and alodam are used in past tense.

For example: nenevannegam bandam (present)

īvannegam irdam (Future)

pāvase kidalodam nir tilidudu (Past)

The total impression about the treatment of verbal themes by Kēsirāja will be his indebtedness, to the Sanskrit system. Whether they are apt or not he has imposed the Sanskrit structure on the Kannada examples.

## SYNTAX

There are about ten sūtras dealing with syntax. There are ideas relating to syntax which might have occurred incidentally in some of the sūtras. Those will be made use of wherever necessary. In the following sūtras, Kesiraja talks of the syntactic linkages. 'Of the linkages -am̐ and -um̐, -um̐ is used for accusative case. For genitive there is no linkage. The use of -am̐ and -um̐ in other cases has to be seen through usages.'<sup>1</sup>

The forms -am̐ and -um̐ are called conjunctions. The term linkage for conjunctions is from modern linguistic terminology.

### Examples:

-um̐ in accusative: avarumam̐, puliyumam̐ etc.

Other cases: naranum̐, guruvum̐ (nominative)

avaṅgeyum, niṅgeyum }  
drōnangam̐, ninagam̐ } (dative)

caladolam, kalitanadolam (locative)

-um̐ to alli: alliyum, illiyum elliyum

The function of the syntactic linkages is to join to words or two sentences.

In the following sūtra, Kesiraja deals with the idea of collective singular: 'collective singular stands for the plural. Hence, even when, there is no collectivity, the singular is used for the plural. Here, it behaves as an adjective'.<sup>2</sup>

Singular by definition, refers to one object. If it is to convey the idea of more than one, the plural suffix is to be used. But, there are cases where, though the form is in singular gives the plural sense. This is possible when that term stands for the whole class or kind (jāti). This kind of singular referring to collectivity, is termed 'collective singular' (jātyēka vacana).

Examples:

Collectivity: āne nūṅkidavu - ānegal nūṅkidavu  
kudureyēṛidavu - kuduregalēṛidavu  
kālāl kavīduvu - kālālgāl kavīduvu

In these examples though the verb is in plural, the subject is in singular, e.g. āne, kudure, kālāl. Here, the term āne refers to the 'genus' of elephants and all the species are included in it. Hence, it gives the plural sense. Similarly, the terms kudure and kālāl. Kālāl does not refer to an individual soldier, but the whole class of infantry.

There are other instances where the term, though not a collective one, is used as a plural e.g. ivellam adhruvam-ivellam adhruvangal.

manam sañcalamāduvu - manāṅgal sañcalamāduvu.

In the first of these examples, the case is different. The plurality is indicated not only by the term ellam, but by plural form ivu itself. Hence, the example may not be considered apt. But in the second example, term 'manam' stands for the plurality.

In the next sutra the restriction on the use of collective singular is given:

'When the karaka in the form of an adjective, is in the singular, and the verb also is in singular, the substantive, though a collective one is used as singular'.<sup>3</sup>

Though the term referring to the collectivity which gives the plural sense is there, if it is with karaka acting as an adjective in singular and verb also is in singular, then that collective singular term also gives singular sense.

Examples:

Karaka: intutuāne, intutu kudure

Action: ulidudu kōgile, pādidudu tumbi

If in place of singular forms adu and idu, there are a and i mutation forms, then such collective term optionally gives a plural sense.

For example, ā erale pōduvu, ī pulle banduvu.

'The singular in numeral objects, numbers, nature etc. stands for plural. The qualifier can be in plural and the qualified in singular'.<sup>4</sup>

Some more light is thrown on the use of collective singular, in this sūtra. The singular in numeral objects, numerals, and nature is to be taken as plural. And though the adjective is in plural, the substantive may be in singular.

Examples:

Numeral objects: pattu dese - pattu desegal

Numerals: ondu nātku, ondu nālkugal

Nature: kaṅgala kūrpū - kaṅgala kūrpugal

Singular substantive: nēriduvu beral, tōriduvu jaghanam. The idea of concord between the qualifier and the substantive is expressed in the following sūtra. 'The qualifier in the beginning of the sentence, though in nominative gets the suffix of the last word'.<sup>5</sup>

The qualifiers in the beginning of the sentence though in the nominative get the case of the kāraka word, though in the other end.

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4. S.D. sūtra - 150

5. S.D. sūtra - 151

Examples:

Vīranudāram śuci gambhīram nayaśāli kaydu vottara  
devamgāreraḡar nripatuṅange.

It has to be construed as: vīrange udāraṅge śucige  
gambhīrange nayaśālige kayduvottara devaṅge nripatuṅange  
ar eragar.

Though all the qualifiers of nripatanga are in  
the nominative because the qualified is in the dative, all  
of them attain the same suffix. That is, there is a  
concord between the qualifier/s and the qualified with  
regard to the cases.

In the next sutra, Kesiraja talks about the gender,  
in such a phrase. In a simultaneous statement, there is  
predominance of any gender. The gender at the final  
position is important.<sup>6</sup> The example, sēneyumarasiyymara-  
sanum bandar.

āneyumarasanumarasiyum bandar  
arasanumarasiyum caturangabalamum banduvu

In the following sutra, the number of the nominative  
forms is given'. 'Many nominative singular words lead  
to plural.'<sup>7</sup>

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6. S.D. sutra - 152  
7. S.D. sutra - 153



In the beginning though many nominative singular forms are there, still the verb will be in plural: For example, avatamaṭṭpalatādanam, kanaka kañcibandham .... cakrigittuvalampam. Individually taken, because of the nominative singular forms the verb should have been 'cakrigattudalampam', but because such forms are many together they give the sense of plural.

In the next sutra, the use of avan, aval, etc., is given. āvam aval, adu are independent. āvam, āval, āvudu, tān etc., as they expect avam, aval, adu etc., are dependent.<sup>8</sup>

Examples:

Independent meaning: 'ponnullavane kulīnanam' means āvam ponnulavam avane kulīnam.

'sobagullavale pen' means āval sobagullaval.

Dependent meaning: āvanadhikapunyam avane sēvyam  
āval pativrate avale mānye

In the next sutra, the treatment of the pair giving the sense of a <sup>plural</sup> pair is given. 'In the sense of a pair, plural there is singular. In the verbal adjective also there is singular.'<sup>9</sup>

The base which is used to indicate the sense of a pair is in singular. Similarly, the adverb also.

- 8. S.D. sutra - 154  
9. S.D. sutra - 155

Examples:

Pair: 'padayugam' means 'padayugalaṅgal'  
base: vēdāṅgal pramāṇam

Adverb: ēnemba pempō; entahavargalemba permeyō

'There is a juxtaposition between kāraka and action. If it is not, then there is a fault called 'nēya'. The e of doubt, and -um of linkage also are juxtaposed'.<sup>10</sup>

The juxtaposition between karaka and action should be such that it may not lead the fault called nēya. There is juxtaposition possible between e (expressing doubt) and -um (expressing linkage). Juxtaposition can take place between the kāraka and the verb and between the e of doubt and -um of linkage. Juxtaposition other than this leads to a fault called nēya.

For example, āraktamāgi nēriladōreyananukaripudā-dudāgasam. To understand this, one has to have another phrase from outside viz., sandhyāruciyaṁ. If such is the case it is nēya fault.

Examples for correct juxtaposition:

1. Karaka: ēke nirvahanakke sālgumo pūndodam  
kritibandhamam, Here the term  
'kritibandha' is to be juxtaposed  
'karnanum dāni mēnitanum'. This  
example, should be understood as  
'karnanum dāni mēn itanum dāni'.

2. Action: 'purasōttamam manusyamātrame'

For this the answer is 'allam'

e of doubt: In 'uremañjeme berceme ....dēva' e in urem  
is to be understood as ureme.

-um of linkage - āyūm siritāyūm .... ksitīśam. Here the  
last one should be understood as ksitisanum.'

Similarly, all the cases can be understood according  
to the circumstances.

(To sum up)

Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa reveals Kēśirāja as a true grammarian.

(Following points may be noted in this connection:)

Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa, as most of the Indian grammars, has been written on the model of Sanskrit grammars. Of the two important Sanskrit Schools of grammars viz., 1) Pāṇiniyan School and 2) Kātantra School, Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa belongs to the Kātantra School as is made amply clear in the previous chapters. The following technical terms used in Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa are from the Kātantra School.

Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa uses the term 'svara' for vowel, 'sandhyakṣara' for diphthongs. The term nāmin, vyanjana are used. The terms, on morphological level, 'liṅga' and 'dhātu' etc. are from Kātantra. Again, the names of the cases viz., prathamā, dvitīyā or āmantraṇa are taken from it. In this way the technical terms used in the Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa reveals its indebtedness to the Kātantra School.

But, however, Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa, is not free from the impact of the Pāṇiniyan School. The terms like upasarga, nipāta, etc. 'sambuddhi' for the locative case and so on are from the School of Pāṇini. Hence, Kēśirāja, is also indebted to Pāṇiniyan School, though, his grammar, largely belongs to

the Katantra School.

Structure:

Kēsirāja had a great insight of recognizing two layers of Kannada. They are:

- 1) That of pure Kannada,
- 2) That mixed with Sanskrit and Prakrit words.

As such, he is aware of the varṇas (phonemes) which are exclusively native ones, and those pertaining to Sanskrit and Prakrit. His attempt to arrive at the number of suddhage (inventory of Kannada phonemes) is almost like hinting the modern concept of overall pattern (the one used in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Kannada words) and a common core (found in native words).

The fixation of short e and o as inherent in Kannada phonemic inventory shows the true phonologist having the concept of minimal pairs and phonemes etc.

2. A Formal Grammarian:

While describing the sandhi phenomenon, Kēsirāja states that in the case of words indicating appreciation, or acceptance etc. there is no sandhi. The criterion here followed is the meaning. And in another sūtra (81), if a

suffix comes after the stem indicating negation etc., then n, ṇ etc. are doubled. Here again, he is relying on the meaning. In this and so many other instances Kēsirāja clearly takes meaning as his criterion. But he is a formal grammarian first. <sup>The scholar states the</sup> If in a grammar, form is taken as the criterion for description, it is called a formal grammar. The meaning which cannot be a sure ground for description need not be relied upon. If it is the form that underlies the analysis, it will be precise. The formal grammarian that he is, Kēsirāja in majority of the cases reveals such insight. (The sūtras like No.79 where he says 'After the words ending in n, ṇ, l, y and 1 and containing a short vowel, if another vowel comes, the word final consonant will be doubled.' This is nothing but a complete reliance on form.)

But more than this, there are other examples which bring credit to him. While talking about the gender suffix, he says that -al expressing feminine replaces the neuter suffix. The question whether -al is a replacement or not, though debatable, it is remarkable that Kēsirāja tries to establish the suffixes on formal grounds. Then he says (No.231) that the masculine and feminine plural -ar etc. comes as a substitute for the neuter plural suffix -gal. Though he is not correct in this, it is worthy of a true

formal grammarian to derive other forms from some basic form only. (Many examples may be added to the list to show

✓ Kēsīrāja as a formal grammarian.)

3. Kēsīrāja as a Kannada Grammarian:

Though there are three grammarians and four grammars on Kannada language, the position of Kēsīrāja is unique in the Kannada grammatical field. The first Kannada grammarian Nāgavarma wrote his grammar on Kannada language in Sanskrit. Though he also wrote in Kannada, it was <sup>a</sup> summary of the other one. The last of the Kannada grammarians also wrote his grammar in Sanskrit. It was Kēsīrāja who wrote a full-fledged Kannada grammar in every sense. He wrote it in Kannada unlike that of Nāgavarma (it was a full-length grammar.)

It is Kēsīrāja who gives more emphasis to Kannada forms more than any body else. The list of 181 words, which range from one to five meanings, second list containing the words with bindu and without bindu; the third list containing a list of 985 roots of Kannada; and finally, appending a list of 233 different words, along with their meanings, all these point to his Kannada consciousness, and his painstaking labour.

The wide range of works he has put to use is really amazing. The works from Nripatūṅga (and even earlier) to

his own works are used to prove his points. He is a real grammarian who frames his rules on the basis of the usages. (prayōga saraṇāḥ vaiyākaraṇāḥ) And the wealth of examples put to use by Kēsirāja is a pointer to his greatness as a grammarian.

One more important factor contributing to the greatness of Kēsirāja is that he even notes the colloquial features. This is quite unexpected of the grammarian of his time, for, the strong belief of the pundits of those times was that the colloquial usages <sup>were</sup> out of consideration for the grammar. They are 'asiṣṭa' forms. While talking about the change of p to h, Kēsirāja admits such a change, and even says that this is beautiful for colloquial Kannada. Another instance where he has noticed the colloquial forms is when he is condemning the people who are pronouncing the words like beral, eral, koral etc. (No.38) as -l ending. Whether his condemnation is right or wrong, the important feature here is his study of colloquial forms also.

The same sūtra on beral, eral, koral etc. also reveals one more great quality of Kēsirāja viz., his forthright statement about condemning the mistakes, (if he feels it is a mistake). This quality is worthy of a writer on Śāstra. He says: the rustics pronounce the words like beral, eral, koral etc. which end in -l, as ending in -ḷ, due to

misunderstanding. Whether it was misunderstanding on the part of the people who were pronouncing them as -l ending, is not the question here. But, <sup>the Author has not said that</sup> the attitude of Kēsirāja who could not tolerate the mistake, which he felt it was.

Another instance of such an attitude is when Kēsirāja condemns the people who are making sandhi between a short vowel ending word and a word beginning with a consonant cluster (No.70). He calls such people as 'low' people.

The quality of the true grammarian revealed in the above instances is further corroborated in some other form. Wherever he has doubt, he never conceals it. He clearly admits that he is not sure whether it is this sound or that. The example for this is sūtra No.35. He gives the list of words like jhalakam, jhalapisidam etc. and says he is doubtful whether there is l or ḷ in these examples. This quality is really commendable.

Kēsirāja frequently uses the words like bahulam, bahulagrahaṇadin, vikalpaṇ, samuccayavaśadin etc. In a rigorous grammar such terms though inevitable are to be minimised as far as possible.

So, Kēsirāja who had followed the grammatical works of Nāgavarma, wrote a grammar different from those. <sup>him</sup> Scholars like R.Narasimhachar <sup>who</sup> even say that Śabdamañi Darpaṇa is an

exemplification of Nāgavarma's grammatical works. But, this does not mean that Kēsīrāja was without originality. He is original in many respects and his grammar is based on independent research. He was fortunate in having a great number of works by great poets. <sup>1-10</sup> The Kavirāja Marga of Nripatunga, Pampa Bhārata, Ranna's Gadāyuddha, Ponna's Śānti Purāṇa, and his father's anthology entitled 'Sūktisudhāṇava' etc. to mention only a few. This great tradition, <sup>number</sup> of works by previous writers and his own scholarship contributed to make (the) Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa a great grammar.

The large number of works before him provided with a fund of examples to Kēsīrāja. This enabled him to frame new rules and modify the rules of the previous authors. His untiring labour <sup>led him</sup> (was also able) to search for the new avenues in colloquial forms. His labour and scholarship contributed a great deal in making (the) Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa, the most popular grammar, <sup>only</sup> not in his own times, but even today. It is really creditable on the part of Kēsīrāja that under so great an influence, and himself being much influenced, he has come out as a true Kannada grammarian.

About the greatness of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa, <sup>show</sup> (it will) suffice if we note the statement of Dr. Burnell: "The great and real merit of Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa is that it bases the

rules on independent research and the usage of writers of  
repute; in this way it is far ahead of the Tamil and Telugu  
treatises, which are much occupied with vain scholastic  
disputations."

Re-arrangement of the Sūtras

sūtras of  
(All the Śabdamañi Darpana are re-arranged from the modern point of view. This is not to show that Kēsirāja was inadequate, but an attempt to readjust the same to suit the modern concept.)

<u>Phonetics</u>			
<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Sūtra No.</u>	<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Sūtra No.</u>
1)	9	2)	44
3)	40	4)	26
5)	39		
<u>Phonemics</u>			
6)	12	7)	13
8)	14	9)	41
10)	42	11)	43
12)	16	13)	17
14)	18	15)	19
16)	20	17)	23
18)	24	19)	25
20)	27	21)	21
22)	22	23)	172
24)	26	25)	15
26)	28	27)	29
28)	30	29)	31

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Sūtra No.</u>	<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Sūtra No.</u>
30)	32	31)	33
32)	34	33)	35
34)	36	35)	37
36)	38	37)	39
38)	46	39)	47
40)	48	41)	50
42)	49	43)	51
44)	52	45)	53
46)	54	47)	55

Sandhi

48)	59	49)	60
50)	61	51)	62
52)	63	53)	64
54)	65	55)	66
56)	67	57)	68
58)	69	59)	70
60)	71	61)	72
62)	73	63)	74
64)	75	65)	76
66)	77	67)	78
68)	79	69)	80
70)	81		

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Sūtra No.</u>	<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Sūtra No.</u>
		<u>Morphology</u>	
71)	45	72)	86
73)	82	74)	58
75)	56	76)	83
77)	84	78)	85
79)	90	80)	91
81)	92	82)	93
83)	94	84)	95
85)	96	86)	97
87)	98	88)	99
89)	100	90)	101
91)	102	92)	166
93)	104	94)	105
95)	107	96)	108
97)	111	98)	112
99)	113	100)	148
101)	150	102)	155
103)	103	104)	115
105)	116	106)	138
107)	139	108)	116
109)	117	110)	118
111)	120	112)	140
113)	141	114)	122
115)	123	116)	124

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Sūtra No.</u>	<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Sūtra No.</u>
117)	125	118)	142
119)	126	120)	143
121)	127	122)	144
123)	129	124)	130
125)	134	126)	135
127)	136	128)	145
129)	131	130)	137
131)	146	132)	147
133)	119	134)	121
135)	87	136)	167
137)	68	138)	107
139)	163	140)	164
141)	88	142)	89
143)	157	144)	158
145)	159	146)	160
147)	161	148)	162
149)	165	150)	106
<u>Derivatives</u>			
151)	208	152)	209
153)	210	154)	211
155)	212	156)	213
157)	214	158)	215
159)	216	160)	217
161)	218	162)	219

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Sūtra No.</u>	<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Sūtra No.</u>
163)	220	164)	221
165)	222	166)	223
167)	224	168)	225
169)	226		

Samāsa

170)	173	171)	174
172)	185	173)	175
174)	176	175)	177
176)	178	177)	187
178)	181	179)	182
180)	183	181)	184
182)	186	183)	188
184)	189	185)	190
186)	191	187)	192
188)	193	189)	194
190)	195	191)	196
192)	197	193)	198
194)	199	195)	200
196)	201	197)	202
198)	203	199)	179
200)	180		

Verbal Themes

201)	227	202)	228
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<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Sūtra No.</u>	<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Sūtra No.</u>
203)	264	204)	265
205)	230	206)	231
207)	232	208)	233
209)	243	210)	244
211)	247	212)	248
213)	249	214)	250
215)	251	216)	252
217)	253	218)	256
219)	238	220)	239
221)	240	222)	241
223)	242	224)	245
225)	246	226)	254
227)	255	228)	234
229)	235	230)	236
231)	237	232)	261
233)	257	234)	258
235)	263	236)	229
237)	262		
		<u>Syntax</u>	
238)	133	239)	148
240)	149	241)	150
242)	151	243)	152
244)	153	245)	154
246)	155	247)	156

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